

RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.
VOL. I.

RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

By **PETER AUBER, M.R.A.S.,**
LATE SECRETARY TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE
EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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TO

THE KING'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE,

Under the protection of their SOVEREIGN
and PARLIAMENT, the EAST-INDIA COMPANY
has been the instrument of acquiring those
vast possessions, declared by the Act of 1833,
to be YOUR MAJESTY'S INDIAN TERRITORIES.

That measure suggested the preparation of
a Work which, divested of all commercial
detail, would comprise within moderate

limits, a narrative of the leading political events connected with the Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.

YOUR MAJESTY having graciously condescended to countenance the attempt—the first Volume is now humbly 'submitted to YOUR MAJESTY. It records the names, with an outline of the services, of some of those eminent men, whose advice in council and valour in the field laid the foundation of the British Empire in the East.

The Second Volume will commence with the establishment of a System, which not only gave permanence and stability to the East-India Company, but enabled it to call forth the services of those illustrious Statesmen and Soldiers who raised the superstructure of that Empire, which still remains under the government of the Company, and forms so stupendous and splendid a monument of national enterprize.

Although the Company exercises no political power in this country, it has evinced on all occasions of national contest or internal commotion, an anxious desire to uphold the Sovereign Authority, and has manifested the most devoted attachment to YOUR MAJESTY'S Royal House and Person.

That the blessings of British Rule, may be long enjoyed and fully appreciated throughout every portion of the varied and widely extended dominions under YOUR MAJESTY'S mild and paternal sway, is the prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and

Loyal Subject,

PETER AUBER.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.



WHILE preparing, in the year 1825, the ‘ Analysis of the Constitution of the East-India Company,’ I experienced the want of a work treating progressively of the political events that had occurred in India, with a statement of the laws passed by Parliament for the government of the Company’s affairs ; together with the views and opinions of the Home Authorities on the proceedings of their servants abroad.

There were numerous publications, referring to detached portions of India affairs. The History of British India by the late James Mill, Esq., was the first attempt to compass in one work the various subjects comprised in so extensive a field. It presents an instance of indefatigable perseverance, and exhibits the peculiar views of the gifted and lamented author. It is matter of regret—a regret of which I know that gentleman
himself

himself partook—that he had not an opportunity, when writing his history, which terminates in 1805, of consulting the documents that subsequently came under his official cognizance and care.

In the course of my researches, amidst the voluminous records at the India-House, I made various memoranda, with the intention when leisure offered of preparing a work in the present form. The pressure of business preparatory to the discussion on the Charter in 1833, and the arrangements consequent on the passing of the Act, in order to give effect to its provisions, which did not come into operation until April 1834, completely occupied the attention of the whole establishment.

The effects of the extraordinary change caused by the abandonment of all commercial operations, were felt in the great diminution of those duties, that had partaken of the combined character, heretofore sustained by the Company. Extensive reductions necessarily followed, some departments being wholly abolished, others partially reduced, and the entire establishment brought down to a scale that would ensure the largest saving, and at the same time provide for perfect efficiency.

These

These circumstances led to my assistant* proposing, under a sense of public duty, his retirement at the close of the year 1834. The same motive impelled me to propose my own retirement, with a view to a consolidation of offices, in December 1835.

I advert to these circumstances because an impression has arisen in connexion with the reductions alluded to, that the idea thrown out in the original Hints submitted by his Majesty's Ministers in February 1833, for reducing the number of the Directors, might have been acted upon with advantage to the public interests. The idea was wisely abandoned. There is no necessary connexion between the number of the Court of Directors, and the strength of the Home establishment. Were it possible, which it most certainly is not, that half the present number of officers and clerks could discharge the duties which now fall upon them, still the twenty-four Directors ought to be inviolably maintained: that number being based upon a principle which should never be lost sight of;

while

* William Carter, Esq., a most honourable public servant. His retirement, as well as my own, was accompanied by that of some old and valued servants in the department.

while the strength of the establishment ought to be governed by the extent of duties it has to perform. The present number of the Executive Body is essential to its independence, and forms a security against the successful exertion of political or other influence operating to the prejudice of the great interests committed to its care.

An objection has been taken to the choice of so many Directors from gentlemen who have served in India, because they may have imbibed strong local prejudices. If the term *local prejudice* implies that those Directors have a feeling of attachment towards India and its population, it presents a recommendation; the real difficulty is in removing prejudice against and in creating an interest in matters relating to that country.

If the term be used as implying narrowness of views, caused by supposed confinement to local duties in a distant part of the world, why should an effect be produced on minds engaged in India in forming revenue settlements or fixing the bounds of a province—in administering justice amidst millions, or discharging the duties of a political Residency—in filling the office of a Member of Council, or that of Vice-President,—

or

or in taking a distinguished part as companions in arms with those illustrious individuals whose names are recorded in the history of their country, more than in that of parties who may be occupied in England in the settlement of tithes or parish rates, in fixing the limits of a turnpike trust, or discussing the merits of a railroad-bill?

Some reason might exist for the term, were all the members who have served in India to be chosen exclusively from one presidency, and from one particular branch of the service; but, so far from this being the fact, selections are made from all the three presidencies, and from every branch of the public service. Nor is the choice confined to gentlemen only who have been in the service; the election has fallen on parties who have resided in India, but wholly unconnected with the service.*

If any objection still remains, its force is neutralized

* A recent instance presents itself in the case of the Right Hon. Cutlar Fergusson, who was a member of the Bar at Calcutta, and was chosen a Director, on his return to this country, by the united suffrage of the Proprietors. That gentleman retired from the Direction, much to the regret of all parties, on re-assuming office with His Majesty's Ministers. The late Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart., had been in India, but not in the Company's service. The present Director, Sir Robert Campbell, Bart., is another instance.

lized by the introduction of gentlemen of high character possessing extensive mercantile and financial experience, having had no connexion with India. This is an advantage which offers additional reason for maintaining the present number, and for continuing a system that secures the various qualifications now brought to bear in deciding questions of great public as well as of personal interest.

Nor can any idea be more erroneous than that the duties devolved upon the Court since the Act of 1833 do not present sufficient matter to engage the attention of so many members. With the exception of questions which involve great constitutional changes in the establishments of the United Kingdom, those which come under the review of the co-ordinate authorities forming the Home system, for governing India, are of a more extended, varied, and complicated nature than any that generally occupy the attention of Parliament. Twenty-four Directors were not considered too many when the Company had commercial affairs only, and those of a very limited extent, to transact; neither was that number thought excessive when the Company possessed only one-third of the territory,

ritory, of the army, and of the population, now under their control and government.

The office of a Director of the East-India Company presents one of the most honourable and interesting positions in public life, and offers matter to engage the highest range of talent and the best powers of the mind, in a widely extended sphere of duty, comprising political, military, revenue, judicial, financial, legislative, ecclesiastical, and commercial subjects, not confined within narrow limits, where one decision will apply to the country at large, but calling for separate measures in distinct provinces, and different laws for a varying population in habits, manners, and customs.

The office is not one of pecuniary reward, but it is one which yields its possessor the means of an honourable provision for his family connexions and friends, with the enviable gratification of being enabled to confer obligations in quarters where educated and exemplary heads of large and amiable families have to contend with limited funds, and whose habits have precluded them from forming connexions to advance their families in the world. The children of the veteran soldier
with

with honourable laurels, but scanty means—the widow's son and the destitute orphan, have participated in that patronage which, but for the maintenance of the Court of Directors, might have been applied to the most unconstitutional purposes, and certainly would never have reached those channels where it has been so philanthropically bestowed. The fact was admitted by Parliament during the discussions on the Charter, and I speak from personal knowledge of numerous instances of the most kind and generous acts of individual patronage.*

Although

* In the year 1774, the following curious petition was presented to the Directors :

“ To the Honourable Court of Directors,

“ Gentlemen :—I am a clergyman of Ely, in the county of Cambridge. I have a parcel of fine boys, but not cash to provide for them. My eldest son I intended for a pillar of the Church, and with this view I gave him a suitable education at school, and afterwards entered him at Cambridge, where he has resided the usual time, and last Christmas took his degrees with some reputation to himself. But I must at the same time add that he is more likely to kick a church down than to support one: he is of a very eccentric genius. He has no notion of restraint to Chapel-gates, Lectures, &c. &c., and when rebuked by his master, tutors, &c., for want of obedience to their rules, &c., he treated them in the most contemptible light, as if not being gentlemen, and seemed to intimate that he should call them to account as an affair of honour, &c. This soon disconcerted all my plans for him, and on talking with him the
other

Although the subject will be noticed when the present system comes under review at the close of the Second Volume of this work, I cannot refrain from adverting to one clause of the Act of the 3d and 4th William IV. cap. 85, which has immediate

other day, asking him what road his honour would choose to pursue in future life, he told me his plan was to go into the India service. Upon being interrogated whether he had any reasonable expectation of a provision from that quarter, he looked small and said no. Now, gentlemen, I know no more of you than you do of me, and therefore it is not unlikely but that you will look upon me as chimerical a man as my son, in making this application to you : but you will remember that he is my son, and that reflection, I hope, will be deemed a sufficient apology. I want your advice, now ; therefore not knowing any individual amongst you, I apply to you as a body. If he will suit your service and you can help me, do. He is now about twenty, near six feet high, well made, stout and very active, and as bold and intrepid as a lion. He is of a Welch extraction for many generations, and I think as my first-born he is not degenerated. If you like to look at him you shall see him and judge for yourselves ; you may leave word with your clerk. I shall call again shortly to hear what you say, and am in the mean time,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Black Bull Inn,	“ Yours, &c. in haste,
“ Bishopsgate Street,	(Signed) “ THOMAS JONES.”
“ 3d March 1774.”	

“ N.B. If you like him I will equip him, &c.”

One of the Members of the Direction gave the young man a cadetship.

diate reference to the civil patronage of the Company. I do not believe that it has yet been acted upon. Before the plan devised by the Marquis of Wellesley in 1800, for the establishment of the Calcutta College, there was no test required from parties previously to their being appointed Writers. They simply produced a certificate that they had been educated in writing and accounts, and were desirous “of serving their Honours.” The same kind of petition was presented by Mr. Hastings, by Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), by the late Charles Grant, Esq., by Sir George Barlow, by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, and by distinguished members of the service who, after filling high posts in the governments abroad, are now devoting their valuable experience to the same objects at home, in their places as Directors. Whatever may have been the demands of the public service, it must be admitted that fit instruments were found to meet those demands.

The plan of Lord Wellesley was superseded by the establishment of the East-India College in this country, in the year 1805. By the Act of 1813, each party, before his nomination as a
Writer,

Writer, was required to pass four terms at the College.*

That institution, and the regulations for its government, have afforded matter for repeated discussions, in the Court of Proprietors and elsewhere.

In the year 1826, the East-India College was not adequate to supply the wants of the public service. The Act of 7 Geo. IV. was accordingly passed, which admitted of the nomination of parties as Writers who should pass a given test before four examiners, two being appointed for that purpose by each of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the ages of the candidates not to exceed that prescribed by the Acts of 1784 and 1793,† *viz.* twenty-two years.

The wants that called for the remedy having been supplied, the Act expired, and the exclusive system of passing through the College was reverted to; but to render it more palatable, and to give the service of India all the benefit of general education elsewhere, it was declared sufficient for a party to have resided either one or two terms,
instead

* 53 Geo. III., cap. 155, sec. 46.

† 33 Geo. III., cap. 52, sec. 60.

instead of four, provided he passed the final examination. Some instances of valuable instruments, who had come from the Universities, being appointed under the revised plan, have lately occurred.

With these facts upon record, it is difficult to imagine what can have led to the introduction of the 103d section, cap. 85, in the Act of the 3d and 4th of His present Majesty; unless indeed its object was to render the civil patronage as little grateful to the nominating parties as possible, if so, it will be most effectually attained whenever the scheme shall come into operation. The general outline of the Ministerial plan of 1833 was the result of a comprehensive and enlightened view of the vast subject then brought forward; but many of the details were framed in haste, and apparently without due consideration of the effects that would follow their adoption.

The age of each of the candidates to fill one vacant nomination to the College is not to exceed twenty-two years; but the Acts of 1784 and 1793 provide that no party shall be appointed a *writer* whose age exceeds twenty-two years. Residence therefore at the College, under the new Act, is
out

out of the question for a party of the extreme age admitted by that Act. At all events, there is a discrepancy that requires correction. Again, the period of one month only is allowed to a Director to find out four candidates, and this is to be done in the months of July and August, a period of the year of all others the least likely for candidates to be found, and if they are not produced the nomination falls to the Board! The remotest idea of imputing any sinister intention when the plan was devised is utterly disclaimed, but the result is clear: for supposing thirty vacancies, the Directors in one month must be prepared with 120 youths, who are ready to risque their academic reputation for thirty problematical prizes.

To avoid this, the Directors may send up ninety youths who may happen to be at home for the holidays from some of the seminaries in the country, to compete with thirty comparative veterans, and the Act would be complied with, while the real intention would be entirely defeated.

The plan prescribed by the Act is unattainable in principle, and would be open to intrigue and injustice when put in practice. A proper test and

public examination seems all that is really requisite to ensure well qualified servants.

As the governing body in the India system, the Directors have the origination of *principle*. This is a most important point. Their acts, it is true, are subject to revision by the Board of Commissioners, but the Directors possess the means of making the public judges of those acts through the medium of the Court of Proprietors, should extreme measures or differences of opinion render such a proceeding expedient. If the powers both of the executive and constituent bodies are more circumscribed by the late Act, they are still of a character to be applied with much force and effect.

If the past experience of their government be taken as an earnest for the future, there is ample warrant to anticipate the most beneficial results. The testimony of that great man (whose services will be hereafter noticed), when speaking of the Company's government, not from mere report but from long personal experience; at a time when the Company had the honour to number him amongst their servants, and who in that capacity set an example of the strictest subordination,

t.

nation, when the policy of a measure was opposed to his own conviction;—who exhibited entire devotion to the public service, when personal interest would have decided otherwise;—who evinced a foresight as extraordinary in planning and devising measures and operations, as promptitude, energy, and success in carrying them into execution;—who laid down a system for the management and conduct of the various branches of the public service, which simplified the most complicated and important matters, whilst the most minute and apparently unimportant were not forgotten;—who observed an extraordinary regularity in his public accounts, amidst unceasing engagements, requiring continued exertion both of body and mind;—and whose acquaintance with the general affairs and political relations of the Company was not less conspicuous than his military achievements,—this eminently competent eye-witness declared, from what he saw at the time, and from what he had since seen, that it was one of the best and most purely administered governments, and one which had provided most effec-

tually for the happiness of the people over which it was placed.*

Another gentleman then in office at the India Board, and now filling a high station in the Council of India, declared his astonishment at discovering the effects of a government and a system of which he had formed a very different opinion. †

One of the leading characteristics in the government of the East-India Company is freedom from party or political feeling: it is desired to observe the same spirit in this work. After all, the subject is so vast, that scarcely any one work can give more than a brief connected detail. To aid the attention in taking a glance at the history of India, from the commencement of hostilities with the French in 1745, the subsequent period may be divided into ten decades.

At

* Parliamentary Debates, July 1835. In the reference I have here made to the Duke of Wellington's services, I have strictly confined myself to those rendered in India. They formed a true presage of his Grace's subsequent illustrious career.

† Debate in the Commons on the second reading of the India Bill, 11th of July 1833.

At the beginning of each, or within a very short time, some marked event took place :

1745-6. The commencement of hostilities with the French on the coast of Coromandel.*

1755-6. The affair of the Black-hole, and the expedition to Calcutta under Clive and Watson.†

1765. The acquisition of the Dewanny.‡

1774. The Regulating Act ; a Governor-general appointed, and a Supreme Court of Judicature created.§

1784. The establishment of the Board of Commissioners.

1793. The renewal of the Charter ; the Board of Commissioners placed upon a permanent footing, with salaries to the President and Commissioners.

1804. The termination of the Marquis Wellesley's brilliant administration, including the fall of Seringapatam, the expulsion of the French, and the subjugation of the Mahrattas.

1814. The renewal of the Charter ; the opening of the India trade ; the introduction of an Episcopal establishment ; the commence-
ment

* Page 47.

† Page 54.

‡ Page 146.

§ Page 442.

ment of the Marquis Hastings' administration, and Nipaul war.

1824. The Burmese war.

1834. The East-India Company relinquish commercial operations ; surrender all their property to the Crown, and retain the government of India. The abolition of suttee, and termination of Lord William Bentinck's administration,

I have purposely introduced, in the first chapter, some extracts to show the state of the Company's early political relations. It must be remembered, that until the late great change, the East-India Company possessed no other pecuniary means than what they derived from the combined result of their territorial and commercial receipts. In the course of the national contests in which Great Britain was involved, the Company were frequently much embarrassed. They obtained at times unwilling aid from Parliament, at the instance of the Minister who disputed their claims to reimbursement for outlay on account of his Majesty's Government, when the national exchequer was severely pressed, and the Company's exigencies

exigencies most felt, there being no demand, either at home or abroad, for the produce in their warehouses.

These were the reasons why the Directors contended for the maintenance of the Company's exclusive privileges in all their integrity. Had concessions been made, they felt that there was no limit at which to stop, their sole dependence being on their own resources. India, including the Home Establishment, with that of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, has never been a direct charge on England. Hence the orders to the governments abroad were sometimes couched in terms grating to minds unaccustomed to the tediousness of detail and formal minutiae of a peaceful administration, "formed on a commercial basis."

The First Volume of this work refers to the early period of Indian history, and of the Company's establishment. It comprises the administration of Lord Clive, with the intermediate governments in Bengal and at Madras and Bombay, and closes with that of Mr. Hastings. Most of what relates to Lord Clive's government had been prepared from the official documents before the life of his
Lordship

Lordship was published. I mention this, because I am gratified to find that my views are generally supported by those of the gallant and regretted author of that work.

The Second Volume will open with the Establishment of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India ; a measure which preserved the Company's political existence, and tended to check, and gradually to eradicate the evils that had arisen from the want of power on the part of the Executive Body to enforce obedience to their orders.

The important proceedings of the India Government, which gave effect to the revisions contemplated by the Act of 1784, will be gradually developed. The principles by which the Supreme Council were guided will be traced out, together with the course of splendid achievements which marked the progress of the British power, under the several eminent personages who presided in the respective governments. The result exhibits the extraordinary fact that the Company, whose representatives hesitated at one time to address a Nabob of one of the provinces, now hold the Great Mogul himself as a pensioner upon those revenues, which

which through their instrumentality have become the property of the British crown.* An Outline of the Indian System as it exists under the altered character of the Company, will likewise be given.

The scheme of his Majesty's Ministers was explained and supported in an able and luminous exposition by the President of the Board, in February 1833.† The Proprietors closed with the proposition, and accepted the revenues of India as security for their capital, and payment of the dividend, on condition that the Company retained the government. Of the competency of India to sustain all the just demands upon her exchequer, no doubt is entertained: "a country with an increasing revenue of twenty-two millions, a territory almost unlimited in extent, a soil rich and fertile, and suited to every kind of produce, with

* A map of India is prefixed, in order to show the possessions acquired by the Company at the close of Mr. Hastings' government in 1784, as also the native states which existed as substantive powers at that time.

The Second Volume will contain a map prepared upon a similar principle, brought down to the present time; also a map exhibiting the routes of Steam Navigation with India.

† The Right Hon. Chas. Grant, now Lord Glenelg.

with a people capable of great improvement, and both frugal and industrious.”

But the Proprietors must not forget that capital and skill are the means, and judgment and energy the qualifications essential to apply those means in the mode best calculated to ensure the anticipated benefits.

No endeavour should be omitted to awaken an interest in a country, which has doubtless been brought under British dominion for higher ends than mere pecuniary advantage, although instances of the benefits derived in that point of view may be traced throughout the United Kingdom : for there is scarcely a county without resident families who owe, either remotely or immediately, their fortune, or pecuniary means, to the establishment of the East-India Company, and the acquisition of India.

If this work, which is almost wholly founded on official records, shall in any degree answer the purpose, one of the objects I have had in encountering the labour of preparing it for publication will be attained. It may likewise prove an useful introduction to more extended researches by individuals who shall hereafter enter the Company's service,

service, or to those who may resort to India for other purposes.

As the attempt has been graciously countenanced by the Sovereign, I feel that I shall but manifest the respect which I bear towards the Company, by announcing to the Proprietors individually the progress of a work, the first volume of which is now sent forth to the public.

LONDON, *April* 1837.

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

IN contemplating the History of India, abundant matter to awaken, if not to satisfy curiosity, as to its earliest condition and chronology, is to be found in the works of those distinguished scholars and historians, who have presented the public with their valuable researches on the various kingdoms of Asia. Early history.

Confining the retrospect to the limits within which reference can be had to historical facts, it is impossible not to be most forcibly struck with the extraordinary vicissitudes and revolutions to which Hindostan has been subject. Governed for a series of years by a Maharajah, or prince who exercised supreme authority, and by various feudatory but powerful native chiefs; having a priest-

Mahomedan
irruption.

hood assuming a lofty tone of morality, possessing great influence over the people, and acting as counsellors to their rulers, the Hindoo power, notwithstanding the early invasion of Alexander,* remained comparatively secure until the irruption of the Moslems, whose troops were led to the territories on the Indus within the third century after the rise of that scourge of the human race, the followers of the prophet, whose flight from Mecca, A.D. 622, gives date to the Hijrah. In thirty-one years from that period, besides Arabia, the kingdoms of Persia, Egypt, and Syria, were subjugated by their arms, and in the year 673 they entered the country beyond the Oxus.

The five great princes, who are represented to have united their forces against the earliest invasions

* "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed the Indus (about 327 years before Christ, according to Usher, and in the month of May), at or near the place where the city of Attock now stands; because, first, it appears to have been, in all ages, the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabal and Candahar into India; and this is strongly indicated by the circumstance of Acbar's building the fortress of Attock to command it. Mr. Fraser, in his history of Nadir Shah, says, 'there is but one place where an army can conveniently be transported, the stream being so rapid in most parts. There is a castle commanding that passage, called the castle of Attock.' Attock, then, must stand on or near the site of the Taxila of Alexander. Taxila must necessarily have been very near the Indus, to allow of its being one hundred and twenty miles from the Hydaspes, or Chelum. See Pliny's Indian Itinerary, book vi."—*Major Rennell's Memoir of Hindostan.*

sions of Hindostan by the Mahomedans, were those of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmere, Kanouje, and Callinjer, all included in Northern Hindostan.

The more southern part was full of impregnable hills and castles, which were tenanted by the daring race of Rajpoots. The multitude of these forts, built on lofty and almost perpendicular eminences of rock or mountain, so common in India, affords sufficient evidence of the distractions which, in ancient periods, prevailed amidst the endless contests of ambitious chieftains.

In the tenth century, three lines of Mahomedan princes arose, whose successors established themselves in Hindostan.

The first was that of the Gaznavides, so called from Gazna, the capital of a province in the neighbourhood of Candahar. They continued from about A.D. 1000 to 1157, when they were expelled from their Indian conquests by the Gaurides, from Gaur, a province to the north of Gazna. The Charazmians, from Charazm, the capital of their kingdom, succeeded A.D. 1212; and they were defeated by Genghis Khan in 1221.

Lines of Mahomedan princes.

During the whole of the Gaznavian dynasty, as well as the dynasties of Gaur and Charazm, India boasted no supreme head. The dignity of Maharajah had become merely nominal. He might take the field, and was revered as chief; but he possessed no decisive power to control the different factions that had arisen and convulsed the country,

the provinces having been partitioned among the superior line of rajahs who headed or ruled over them. The unsatiated invaders from the western frontiers, as long as their tyranny lasted, were the lords paramount of India. The tribute was regularly transmitted to Gazna, or Gaur, by such of the Indian chieftains as desired peace, numerous armies of Afghauns being ready to pour down upon any who might manifest resistance.

Deccan invaded.

The DECCAN, or Southern Peninsula, remained in quiet subjection to its ancient chiefs of Indian descent until 1293, when it was first invaded by Alla-ud-Dcen, the Mahomedan governor of Kurrah, a country bordering on the Deccan, near Ellich-poor.

Timour's conquest of Delhi.

At the close of the fourteenth century, the celebrated Timour “planted the Tartarian standard on the imperial towers of Delhi.” On returning to his own country, he committed the government of his new conquests to two viceroys, Pir Mahommed and Chizer Khan. The latter contested successfully for the sceptre. The Tartar government having become odious, both to the Mahomedan chiefs and native princes of India, they emancipated themselves from its yoke in 1493, about which period the Usbecks invaded Great Bokhara, and constrained Baber, the descendant of Timour, to abdicate the throne of Tartary and seek refuge at Gazna. In this retirement he contemplated the invasion of Northern Hindostan and the conquest

quest of Delhi. The Afghauns and the great rajahs of the country opposed his progress, but his valour and perseverance overcame every obstacle, and on the 1st May 1526, Baber, a fugitive from his own country, ascended the Mogul throne, one hundred and thirty years after the conquest by Timour. Humaioon, son of Baber, carried his arms into Malwa and Guzerat, where Sultan Bahauder reigned. The latter, in order to defeat the advance of Humaioon, granted the port of Diu to the Portuguese, in consideration of their aiding him against the invader. Here we perceive the first footing obtained by an European power in India.

Emperor
Baber.

Portuguese
settle at Diu.

Humaioon was subsequently driven to seek safety in Lahore by a revolt of the Afghauns, which took place under Shere Khan, during the emperor's absence from Delhi. He died in 1556. His son, Akbar, then only fourteen years of age, was proclaimed king by the chiefs who had accompanied his father to Lahore, and was crowned at Delhi in 1558. He raised Agra to great splendour, as a royal city, in 1570. During his reign Bengal was reduced, siege was laid to Patna and Allahabad, Guzerat was subdued, Ahmedabad was fortified, and the greater part of the Deccan, with the kingdoms of Viziapore and Golconda, were brought under his arms.

Akbar.

Abul Fazil, the soldier and historian, enjoyed the full confidence of Akbar, and took an active part

Abul Fazil
murdered.

part in the operations in the Deccan. On the revolt of Selim, the emperor's son, Abul Fazil being summoned by Akbar to Delhi, was murdered whilst on his way to obey the commands of his master.

Jehaungier.

Selim proffered submission to his father, and succeeded to the throne at the close of the year 1605, by the title of Jehaungier. He also experienced the revolt of his eldest son, two of whose companions in the rebellion were condemned to suffer death.* In 1607 the emperor marched against Caubul. He reduced the refractory Afghauns, and afterwards prosecuted the war against the Nizam and the Deccan.

Shah Jehan, his son, succeeded him in 1628. An insurrection in the Deccan, under Lodi, an omrah of the highest distinction, called forth the exertions of the Emperor, who sent an army to oppose him, but at the same time offered terms of pardon, which Lodi imprudently accepted. He was made governor of Malwa, and subsequently invited to the court at Delhi, where he was treated with great indignity. The apprehension of assassination induced him to flee from the court to Malwa. Having withstood the troops sent after him

* It is stated that one was sewn up in the raw hide of an ox, which, as it contracted by the heat of the sun, caused suffocation ; the other was sewn up in the hide of an ass, but his friends having kept it moist by continually wetting it, his life was preserved, and he was ultimately pardoned.

him and obliged them to relinquish their pursuit, he traversed the provinces of Bahar and Oude on his way to Golconda, and ultimately reached Dowlatabad, where the Nizam received him with open arms.

This conduct of the Nizam gave the Emperor an opportunity, for which he had long sought, of renewing his efforts to bring the Deccan into complete subjection. The Sovereign of Bejapoor, the King of Hyderabad and Talingana, and the Nizam, king of the Deccan, confederated in support of Lodi; but the arms of the Emperor prevailed, and Lodi was cut to pieces. The confederates were ultimately reinstated in their possessions, upon condition of their acknowledging the Emperor and his successor to be lords paramount of the Deccan.

Aurangzebe, the third son of Shah Jehan, Aurangzebe. although naturally ambitious, concealed his real character and intentions under the assumed rigidity of a fakir. He was appointed to govern the Deccan in 1638. In 1658, through treachery towards his two brothers and by imprisoning his father, he obtained the imperial throne. He made considerable conquests in the Peninsula, and engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas.

The latter power arose in 1628, under Sevajee, Rise of the
Mahrattas. who in 1661 had made a conquest of the whole of the coast of the Concan, comprising the country from Goa to Demaun. He died in 1680, and was succeeded

succeeded by Sambajee, who having taken under his protection the rebel son of Aurungzebe, the troops of the latter proceeded against him. The Emperor having obtained possession of his person by bribery, offered him his pardon if he would embrace the Mahomedan religion. Sambajee indignantly rejected the offer; upon which his tongue was torn out. Still refusing to purchase mercy at the expense of his faith, the inhuman Emperor caused his heart to be cut out.

Collect the
chout.

Aurungzebe died in 1707. His conduct had exasperated the Mahrattas, who, under their chief Sahoojee, overran and plundered the greater part of Hindostan. In 1735 they obtained authority to collect the *chout*, or fourth-part of the net revenues of all the provinces of the empire, excepting that of Bengal. At the death of Sahoojee in 1740, their territories extended from the Western Ocean to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, being one thousand miles in length and seven hundred wide. Their capital was Sattarah. There were two principal leaders: Ballojee, the Peishwa or vicegerent, who resided at Poona, was looked upon as the chief; the other, Ragojee Boonslah, was the bukshi or commander-in-chief, who resided at Nagpoor in Berar. These two parties divided the kingdom; but the Ram Rajah, or Rajah of Sattarah, was considered the supreme prince, as he bestowed a khelat on the accession of the Peishwa. Ballojee died in 1761, and was succeeded

succeeded by Mhaderao, mention of whom will be found in the early political transactions of the Company. Narrain Rao succeeded in 1773 : on his death he was followed by Ragobah, his uncle, who was the cause of the protracted hostilities between the Bombay presidency and the Mahrattas, which will be noticed hereafter.

Ragojee Boonslah was succeeded by Janojee in 1749 ; and Moodajee, the son of Janojee's younger brother, succeeded in 1775.

Of the other Mahratta chiefs, some rose to eminence, and became formidable enemies to the British power.

The first was SCINDIAH. A part of the province of Malwa, which had been separated from the Mogul dominions about 1732, was awarded to him by a grant from the Rajah of Sattarah, Oojein being his capital. Scindiah.

The second was HOLKAR, who likewise obtained a considerable part of Malwa, his capital being Indore. The province of Kandeish was partitioned between the Peishwa, Scindiah, and Holkar. Holkar.

The third chieftain was FUTTY SING, generally called the Guicowar. He divided Guzerat with the Peishwa. Guicowar.

The fourth was PURSERAM BHOW, the Rajah of Colapore

The fifth was the RASTIA family, long settled in the Concan.

This

This outline of the several native states, when the European nations opened an intercourse with the East by sea, and formed establishments there, may serve as an introduction to a political narrative of the rise and progress of the **BRITISH POWER** in that quarter of the globe: a power which has been more widely extended throughout the continent of India than any that preceded, whether native or European.

British Power.

Established by
the East-India
Company.

In connection with this fact it should be recollected, that the acquisition of our eastern possessions was not effected by the collective forces of this nation, but by the **EAST-INDIA COMPANY**, who form the most extraordinary chartered body that has existed in any nation. They were incorporated in the year 1600 by Queen Elizabeth, who had supported the Dutch republic as a barrier against the House of Austria. England perceived the advantages which accrued both to Portugal and Holland by their trade with Asia round the Cape, and became desirous to participate in that lucrative traffic. Individual means or enterprize were unequal to such an undertaking: 'the attempt could not be made but on a joint stock.' The **LONDON COMPANY** was accordingly formed, for the purpose of extending the commerce and navigation of this country. They continued without a rival until 1698, when the necessities of the state led to the formation of the **ENGLISH COMPANY**. The measure being proposed to Parliament,

Parliament, the LONDON COMPANY presented the following petition to the House of Commons in support of their privileges.

To the Honble. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses,
in Parliament assembled;

The humble Petition of the Governor and Company
of Merchants of London trading into the East-
Indies, in a General Court assembled,

Humbly Sheweth :

That your Petitioners have the sole trade to the East-Indies granted them by several Charters of Queen Elizabeth, and other his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, and those Charters confirmed by his present Majesty, wherein his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant your Petitioners the said trade for twenty-one years, from November 1693, under many regulations, agreed upon by this Honourable House, and to direct an additional subscription of £744,000 to the stock for the better carrying on their trade, and making it more national and extensive, which regulations are submitted unto, and the said £744,000 subscribed and paid in by a great number of new adventurers, since which subscription your Petitioners have suffered very severely in the loss of twelve ships, that would have produced here a very great sum of money.

That your Petitioners, by reason of these losses, have reaped no benefit from their said subscription; and yet have paid £85,443. 6s. 6d. in taxes for their stock during the war, besides the taxes for this year, £295,029. 13s. 4d. in customs; since the said subscription have also advanced among themselves, after their losses, great sums of money for carrying on their trade, and preserving the advantage thereof to the nation, and have likewise served his Majesty and the Government on sundry occasions.

That

That your Petitioners did not doubt (their losses by war and other the premises considered) but they should enjoy the benefit of their trade in time of peace; whereas, instead thereof, they are informed, a proposal is given in to a Committee of this Honourable House, of a loan to be made by persons not interested in the said Company, so as they may have the sole trade to India, China, &c., exclusive of all others; which proposal tends to the utter destruction of your Petitioners' right.

And forasmuch as your Petitioners are in possession of the said trade, have a revenue at Fort St. George and Bombay of about £30,000 a-year, another at Fort St. David's of above £6,000 per annum, which are daily increasing, and large extent of lands in both places; have also above £3,300 a-year paid them by the Persians, and the perpetual inheritance of Bombay and St. Helena, by several grants from the Crown of England; have likewise divers forts, settlements, and territories on the island of Sumatra, without which the pepper trade would be entirely lost to this nation; have also a strong fortification in Bengal, and several other factories (some of them fortified), buildings, settlements, privileges and immunities in many places within the limits of their trade, all which are their absolute propriety, and have cost them immense sums of money for the purchase and grants from Indian princes and others, and for the strengthening, and other expenses thereof.—23d May 1698.

Notwithstanding this appeal, the necessities of the state were such that the New Company was formed under the title of the **ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY**. They, however, found that they could not compete with experience, added to possessions and capital, and at the recommendation of his Majesty

Majesty King William the Third, the two Companies agreed to form one society, to be designated "**THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES.**" The Company consisted of all persons holding a share in the capital stock, then amounting to £2,000,000. Every individual, whether male or female, possessing £500 stock, either in his or her own right or otherwise, was entitled to vote and to take part in discussions in the meeting of Proprietors, who when assembled were termed by the charter a "**GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS.**" The Proprietors were to elect out of their body, every year, twenty-four members, each possessed of £2,000 stock, to be Directors of the Company. Thirteen members formed a quorum, and when assembled for business were termed a "**COURT OF DIRECTORS.**" By the charter four General Courts are to be held in the year, each quarterly. A committee was to be chosen to frame by-laws for the government of the Company, which laws have the same force as those framed by Parliament, when not opposed to any existing Act.*

* In order to facilitate the transaction of the Company's affairs, the charter empowered the Directors to form themselves into committees.

1616. In the year 1616, the Company were confined, on the continent of India, to Surat and Amadavad, in the Mogul's dominions ; to Calicut, on the Malabar coast ; and to Masulipatam, on the Coromandel coast.

1625. In 1625, their agents at Bantam,* in Java, suggested to the authorities in Europe the expediency of directing their attention to the trade on the Coromandel coast, and at the close of the season despatched a vessel from Batavia to Masulipatam with a cargo. They also fixed on a station at Armagon, between Nellore and Pullicat. In 1638, the situation of Armagon being considered unfavourable for increasing the Company's commerce, Mr. Day, one of the council at Masulipatam, selected Madraspatam ; the Naig of that district having offered, provided the English would settle there, to erect a fort at his own cost, and to exempt them from all customs on trade. So much importance was attached to securing this position, that, without waiting for instructions from England, a fortification was commenced at the expense of the Company ; the fort receiving the name of FORT ST. GEORGE, the town retaining its original appellation.

FORT
ST. GEORGE
first settled.

1653. In 1653, Fort St. George was raised to the rank of a presidency ; and, on the application of the Company,

* Bantam, at this early period, was one of the Company's principal settlements to the eastward.

Company, in 1667, was incorporated by royal charter from his Majesty King Charles II.

The island of Bombay, ceded by the crown of Portugal to King Charles II., as a part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine, was, in 1688, granted by the King to the Company; and, in 1687, was constituted the chief seat of the British government in India, all the other settlements being declared subordinate to it.

Surat and
Bombay.
1661-1687.

At the conclusion of the seventeenth century, the English in Bengal were settled at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, all situated on the river Hooghly.

1698.
English.
French.
Dutch.

The Rajahs of the country surrounding those settlements having revolted against the Mogul government, and plundered several towns belonging to the Nabob of Bengal, the three European nations, for their own defence, immediately fortified their settlements. Aurungzebe, then Emperor, sent one of his grandsons to suppress the rebellion, and to superintend the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; through whom the English obtained permission, in 1698, to purchase from the Indian proprietors the villages of Soota Nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, on which ground the city of Calcutta now stands. A fort was ordered to be built, and, in compliment to his Majesty King William III., it was denominated FORT WILLIAM.

BENGAL.

In 1712, the Company having acquired several additional factories for the prosecution of their trade

BENGAL.

trade, and expended large sums in maintaining their interests against the influence of the Dutch, petitioned parliament for an extension of their commercial privileges. After considerable opposition the exclusive right of trade was continued to them until 1733. In order to secure a greater degree of protection from the native powers, an embassy was despatched from Calcutta to the Emperor Ferrokshere at Delhi in 1715. It consisted of two of the most intelligent factors at the presidency.

1715-1745.

The progress of the embassy presents a curious, specimen of diplomacy. The following extract is given from the reports made to the authorities at Calcutta, by the deputation to the Emperor, as the Mogul or King was then designated.

Our last to your Honours, &c. was from Agra the 24th ultimo, which place we left the same day. We passed through the country of the Jaats with success, not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came on our camp, but being repulsed three times they left us. We were met on the 3d July by Padre Stephanus bringing two Seerpaws, which were received with the usual ceremony by John Surman and Cojah Surpaud.

The 4th, we arrived at Barrapoola, three coss from the city, sending the Padre before to prepare our reception, that if possible we might visit the King the first day, even before we went to the house which was got for us. Accordingly, the 7th in the morning we made our entry with very good order, there being sent a munsubdar of 2,000 munsub, with about 200 horse and peons to meet us, bringing likewise two elephants and flags. About the middle

middle of the city we were met by Synd Sallabut Caun Behauder, and were by him conducted to the palace, where we waited till about twelve o'clock, till the King came out, before which time we met with Caundora Behauder, who received us very civilly, assuring us of his protection and good services. We prepared for our first present, viz. 100 gold mohurs; the table-clock set with precious stones; the unicorn's horn; the gold scrutoire bought from Tendency Caun; the large piece of ambergris; the affo, and chel-lumche mapilla work; and the map of the world: these, with the Honourable the Governor's letter, were presented, every one holding something in his hand as usual. Considering the great pomp and state of the kings of Hindostan, we were very well received. On our arrival at our house, we were entertained by Synd Sallabut Caun, sufficient both for us and our people; in the evening he visited us again, and stayed about two hours. The great favour Caundora is in with the king, gives us hopes of success in this undertaking; he assures us of his protection, and says the king has promised us very great favours. We have received orders, first, to visit Caundora as our patron, after which we shall be ordered to visit the grand Vizier, and other Omrahs. We would have avoided this if we could, fearing to disoblige the Vizier; but finding it not feasible, rather than disoblige one who has been so serviceable, and by whose means we expect to obtain our desires, we comply with it.—*Delhi, or Sha Jehanabad, July 8th 1715.*

Your Honour, &c. was before informed that three days after our arrival at the city, the king left it under a pretence of worshipping at a noted place, six coss from Delhi, but his real design was to get clear from the fort, where he thought himself not so free to command, which he might be by this journey, as appeared after. He went round the city, eight or ten days, and the Omrahs petitioned him to

return, it being an unseasonable time to go further : he refused to consent, sometimes saying he would go to Lahore, and sometimes to Ajmere. We were startled at this news, looking back on the risk and trouble of bringing the present hither, although at the King's charge. How to remove it, or to pretend to enter on our negotiation without delivering it, we could not tell ; but after due consideration, we concluded the best way was to deliver the present as fast as possible, though the King was abroad ; and accordingly we carried all the japan scrutoires, japan earthen and lacquered ware, fire-arms, and cutlery ware, with us to the camp, and presented it. The second day, we delivered in a note for four hundred pieces of broad cloth, ordinary ; the third day, another, for three hundred pieces aurora, and sixty pieces ordinary yellow : the following day, the fine reds, superfine scarlet, &c. after this, we returned to the city to prepare what was behind, and brought with us to the camp five standing clocks, twelve looking-glasses, and the map fitted up, which were presented ; but after his Majesty's perusal, the clocks were ordered to be sent back to us, to be taken care of till he returned to the city : this order hindered us from delivering any more goods. Since the King gave out he designed to proceed no farther than about forty coss from Delhi, to a noted place for worship, from whence he would immediately return, we concluded that we ought to attend his Majesty, leaving Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Phillips to take care of the goods remaining in the city ; that we should give notice to the several Omrahs we intend to present ; and afterwards, under the favour of proceeding to commence our negotiation withal, in case the King should exceed the designed journey, that then Mr. Stephenson might hire carriages, and bring the goods after us. Pursuant to this consultation, we are now with his Majesty, twenty coss from the city : we are preparing our petitions

petitions to be delivered. God send they may meet with the desired success.

We have, from time to time on the way, and since our arrival there, desired sufficient supplies of money to enable us to go on with our business. It is impossible for us now to enlarge more on that head, but that it is certain, if we are not supplied, we shall be in no ways able to effect any thing at this court ; all that we can possibly do is to advise your Honour, &c. of our pressing necessities. We were in hopes to supply our honourable masters with a large sum from the private goods with us, but the King's leaving the city, no merchant is to be had for them, so hitherto that method has been impracticable.—Twenty coss from Delhi, 4th August 1715.

The Mogul had suffered under a long illness. Mr. Hamilton, an English physician, had attended him, which created a strong feeling against us in the minds of the natives. Mr. Hamilton advises that his constitution is so manifestly mended, that he hopes in a few days to effect a perfect cure. This affair has made no little noise in this court, and although the King's doctors have made a great stir, to edge Mr. Hamilton out, yet by the particular influence of his Majesty's favour, and our patron's assistance, thanks be to God, all has been carried on very even, and his Majesty having made use of many and particularly favourable expressions to Coja Surpaud and Mr. Hamilton on this occasion, has given us such pleasing hopes that may fully recompense the delay that has been made hitherto. —*Delhi, Nov. 8, 1715.*

We wrote you the welcome news of the King's recovery. As a clear demonstration to the world, he washed himself the 23d, and accordingly received the congratulations of the whole court. As a reward for Mr. Hamilton's care

and success, the King was pleased the 30th to give him in public, *viz.* a vest, a culgee set with precious stones, two diamond rings, an elephant, horse, and 5,000 rupees, besides ordering, at the same time, all his small instruments to be made in gold, *viz.* gold buttons for coat, waistcoat, and breeches, set with jewels: the same day Coja Surpaud received an elephant and vest as a reward for his attendance on this occasion. Monsieur Mar was to have received a reward the same day with Mr. Hamilton; but considering it was not for the credit of our nation to have any one joined with him, especially since he had no hand in the business, we got his reward deferred till three days afterwards, when he ~~had a vest, elephant, and 1,000 rupees;~~ a favour purely owing to his Majesty's generosity, and because he was his servant.

We have esteemed this a particular happiness, and hope it will prove ominous to the success of our affairs, it being the only thing that detained us hitherto from delivering our general petition; so pursuant to the orders we received from Caundora, the King's recovery was succeeded by the giving in the remainder of our present (reserving a small part only till the ceremony of his marriage should be over), and then delivered our petition to Caundora, by his means to be introduced to his Majesty. Synd Syllabut Caun, who has all along managed our affairs under Caundora, being at that instant and some time before much indisposed, we were obliged to carry it ourselves, without taking care to have his recommendation annexed. Since the delivery, Coja Surpaud has been frequently with Caundora, to remind him of introducing it to his Majesty, but has always been informed no business can go forward till the solemnization of the King's wedding is over, when he has promised a speedy despatch. All offices have been shut up
for

for some days, and all business in the kingdom must naturally subside to this approaching ceremony; so that we cannot repine at the delay.—*Delhi, 7th Dec. 1715.*

A phirmaund, or royal grant, having been issued conferring additional privileges upon the Company, Calcutta was declared an independent presidency, accountable only to the Directors at home.

BENGAL.
1715.

Jaffier Khan was at this time governor of Bengal, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. His conduct towards the English was tyrannical and extortionate. Having manifested an indisposition to obey the orders from the Mogul for the grants to the Company, the members of the embassy on their return to Cossimbusar, addressed the Council at Calcutta in the following terms:

We are entirely of your opinion that you ought not to acquiesce in Jaffer Cawn's refusing obedience to the King's royal orders, nor sit quiet under his disobedience of them: we never entertained such imaginations, but rather that he ought to be compelled to it by such means as your Honour, &c. think best.

You are sensible that no black servant in the country dare speak with that peremptoriness to so great a man as Jaffer Cawn, as sometimes the nature of our affairs require, on which consideration we ourselves went in person to him, and showed him the phirmaund, and demanded ~~the free use of the mint as before~~ advised. Mr. Feake disputed the point himself with Jaffer Cawn in the Indostan language, face to face, Eckeram Cawn Duan and others being present,

present, with ten or a dozen Munsubdars and several of the Mutsuddies, in a public court, who were all eye and ear witnesses to the smart and warm replies Mr. Feake at last made him: the whole Durbar was surprised, and several whispered to Coja Delaun with a seeming fear in what the dispute might end. Jaffer Cawn remained silent for some time, and then ordered beetle to be brought, and despatched us with a few sweetening words, that we would rest satisfied he should not be our enemy, but see what was to be done, and the like, which is a customary cajole he uses to get rid of company he don't like, as was plain he did not ours, for he never had so much said to his face since he has been a Duan or Subah, nor does he usually give any one such an opportunity. Nothing that was necessary to be said or done remained, but giving the duhoy, which experience has taught us is of no value with Jaffer Cawn, who suffers nothing to be sent to court without being read and approved by him: those officers dare as well eat fire, as send anything unknown to him.

Our Vacqueel, though an elderly man, and possibly not so brisk as some others, yet he has the character of the boldest Vacqueel in this Durbar; he once before did give the duhoy, and shall do it again, if your Honour, &c. please to give orders; but we crave leave to offer some reasons we have against doing it at this juncture.—*Cossimbuzar, 15th August 1717.*

We have wrote you already this day with our accounts, since which our broker (whom the Nabob's mutsuddy sent for last night) is returned from the Durbar, and acquaints us, that Dupnaran (whom we have lately obliged to be our friend) took him home to his house, and told him the phirmaund and perwannaes, which we formerly shewed the Nabob, were then sent up to the King. If you have got another copy of them, he said, bring them to me. I have talked

talked to the Nabob (who is violently angry with you), but give my service to your master, and tell him I have hopes to adjust your affairs, and will, if possibly it lies in my power: not that I am sure of it, for the Nabob is a vile man, but let me have a copy of your grants, and I'll try what is to be done.—*Cossimbuzar*, Nov. 21, 1717.

The Directors wrote to the Bengal Presidency on the importance of attending to the revenues, and deprecated any extension of the Company's possessions.

Letter to
Bengal,
3d Feb. 1719.

Para. 63. We come now to take notice of that which we must always have a due regard to, *viz.* the articles of our revenue. We need not repeat the reasons; we have often mentioned them. The assurances you have given us, that you will, and still do, continue to enlarge our revenues all you possibly can without oppression, and faithfully promise your utmost endeavours, as well to augment them as diminish the expenses, excepting that of the military, which you would not lessen, are so many acceptable instances of your care and zeal for our service. We can desire no more, but to see these promising blossoms ripening into fruit. We would not have them enlarged by oppressing any, the poorest person; and allow the reason you give for continuing your military, that it is the best argument you can use for supporting our privileges and the trade, to be very substantial; the experience at Cossimbuzar, and for bringing down your goods, are pregnant instances of it, among many others.

64. "Notwithstanding the doubts we had, whether it would be our interest to have the thirty-eight towns, if granted, or whether they might not engage us in quarrels with the Moors, if hereafter they should be resolved to take them away, when they found them to flourish, of which

Letter to
Bengal,
3d Feb. 1719.

which we wrote you to have your opinion; we find by para. 85, you say they would be of great advantage to us to have them. This we have discoursed Mr. Frankland upon, and of the necessary charge of soldiers to protect them from, or keep off, insults; and having well weighed the expected profit on one side, and the trouble that one time or other may be occasioned thereby on the other, we think it best for us to have only so many of them (when you can purchase them) as lie contiguous to our three towns above and below them, and those on the other side of the river, within about the same extent of ground as the towns when purchased reach on your side; and we are inclined only to have such of them as lie on or within about two miles of the bank of the river, because if there should ever be a necessity of defending them from the inroads of some neighbouring petty governor, our soldiers may not be harassed by long marches to defend our bounds. We suppose, too, that when Jaffer Cawn, or any other governor, finds you desire only part of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; *for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory.* Mr. Frankland assures us, the ground on the other side of you would be of great service to us for repairing our ships, because the river is not rapid there, and as we have said about the dock, that we should find benefit if we could have a good one. We might also add, that if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government.

The Court of Directors again, whilst they looked to the confirmation of the phirmaunds,
expressed

expressed their indisposition to territorial acquisitions.

Para. 57. By the letters and consultations before us, it appears that King Mahmud Shaw is likely to sit easy on his throne, and not be troubled with competitors, or embarrassed by his officers, since the syads are cut off. That thereupon you cannot doubt that the subahship of Bengal will be soon settled, and Jaffer Cawn know whether he shall be continued or removed, and will bribe high to keep his post. That when you know who is subah, you will endeavour to get possession of the phirmaund grants, being unwilling to launch out monies at uncertainties, as in all likelihood it would be during the unsettled posture of affairs in the empire, wherein we think you judged rightly, that Hyder Cooly Caun, who is a great friend to the English, is, by report, one of the king's greatest favourites: he plainly shewed himself so while subah at Surat, for it was he who ordered us to be put into possession of the phirmaund privileges there. By all this we hope you will lay hold of the present opportunity to get the grants confirmed. First, that of the mint; then such of the towns as you shall judge proper, in pursuance of what we have wrote you, and according to the paragraphs which you promise to have regard unto. *Remember, we are not fond of much territory*, especially if it lies at a distance from you, or is not pretty near the water-side, nor indeed of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute, directly or in consequence, to our real benefit.

General Letter
to Bengal,
16 Feb. 1721.

The Company's representatives abroad had, at this early period, directed their attention to the formation of roads, &c.

Para. 76. The reasons given for making the new roads on the S.S.W. and E. to W. sides of your towns, and the benefit

General Letter
to Bengal,
16 Feb. 1721.

General Letter
to Bengal,
16 Feb. 1721.

benefit expected and arising thereby, as well to see through your bounds into the country of the neighbouring Zemindars, who attacked you some time before, as to facilitate the march of your soldiers when necessary to support your utmost outguards, and prevent private robberies in the night from rogues abroad, and that thereby the wind hath a free passage into the town, and likely to contribute to its healthiness, carry their own commendations with them; and we must add, we look on it as a piece of good management in you to lay hold of a fitting opportunity, to persuade your inhabitants to agree to your making them, and they bear the charge.

The desire of the Directors was conveyed to the Council in Bengal, that the young servants should be urged and encouraged to acquire a knowledge of the native languages.

General Letter
to Bengal,
16 Feb. 1721.

Para. 82. We observe your want of writers. We sent you a sufficient supply the last season. Encourage them all to learn the country languages, which are sooner attained by youth than men grown, because the memory is then more fitted to keep what they learn, and their tongues more ready and pliable to give the true accent in pronunciation. Besides, some men are so proud, they think it is like sending them again to school when they are put upon learning a language. Enquire at some set times what proficiency the youths make therein, and awaken their ambition by representing to them, they will be the better qualified for a chiefship in time, or to be employed at the aurguns.

General Letter
to Bengal,
14 Feb. 1722.

Para. 55. The accounts you give us of being pretty easy with the country government, notwithstanding the unsettled condition of the country, is acceptable, and much more your proceedings in clearing Contoo, the Cossimbuzar broker,

broker, when seized by the Nabob, and your boats when stopped at the several choukies. These are so many new proofs of the necessity of putting on a face of power and resolution, as we have often mentioned, to recover our privileges when openly infringed, and softer methods and applications for redress prove ineffectual, and that even the country government are afraid when you give them the duhoy in a prudent manner, and on well-grounded occasion. Yearly experience shews you they are always watching for opportunities to get money out of you, as in the dispute of your making the road for the benefit of your towns. Let it be your constant care (as hitherto by what appears it has been), to give them no just handles if possible. We need not add (because it hath been often recommended to you), that you continue to keep fair with the Hugly government, which, with a little prudence, may be done at a cheap rate, even your usual piscoshes. Be equally careful to keep up a good understanding with the Nabob, so as good words and a respectful behaviour, without paying too dear for it, will contribute. Is there no likelihood of contracting a friendship with one or more of his favourites, to make your way to, and the obtaining your requests from, him more easy? Such things have been practised formerly, and particularly by President Eyres, who, by his intimacy with Mirza Mudusfer, first obtained the grant of your towns.

General Letter
to Bengal,
14 Feb. 1722.

The effects resulting from the access of licensed and unlicensed parties into the interior, were noticed from home.

Para. 63. We understand some of the persons we have permitted to reside free merchants in India, have suggested that, by virtue of the license contained in their covenants under our common seal, they have an equal liberty with ourselves to trade where and how they please: and think themselves

General Letter
to Bengal,
14 Feb. 1722.

General Letter
to Bengal,
14 Feb. 1722.

themselves no way accountable for mal-administration, or to be questioned by our Presidents and Councils (who are our representatives) when chargeable therewith. Give public notice to all with you, that if they persist in that opinion, they will find themselves mistaken, and that by a clause in their covenants they are obliged to return for England whenever we shall see just cause. That you have our authority to send them accordingly, whenever you find them acting contrary to our general interest, or that of the English trade in India. As to such as are not under covenants, and therefore presume they are no way accountable for their behaviour towards us or the interest aforesaid; do you take care to let them know, that by the laws, no subject of his Majesty can stay in India without our leave, and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it.

64. Though we have laid down these rules on such general terms, yet we add, that we will not have the President and Council put them in practice so far as to send any to England, unless where the accusation is full, and as well proved as the case can admit of, and the fault of a notorious nature; *such as assisting our enemies, or openly striking at our privileges, or refusing to comply with the rules by us prescribed for the good government of our settlements, where such person or persons shall be; and this not by inferences only, or strained constructions or interpretations.*

To check extravagance, and to enforce obedience to orders, the Directors wrote,

Letter to
Bengal,
7 Jan. 1725.

Para. 19. We find an entry in your consultation of a chaise and pair of horses bought for the President, Mr. Deane, charged to us as costing Rupees eleven hundred. ~~We gave no order or leave for it, and thereby, we hereby~~ direct

direct that the money be repaid into our cash out of his effects, and that nothing of this nature be again introduced: if our servants will have such superfluities, let them pay for them.

The state of the Mogul affairs led the Court to caution the Council to be fully alive to the passing events in which the Company's interests might become involved.

The battle you mentioned to be fought by the Vizier, wherein he was successful against the King's army, and killed the general Mombarras Cawn, his sons, and several Omrahs, does in our opinion show that affairs in the Mogul's dominions are in the utmost confusion, and tend towards some extraordinary crisis. Our advices from Fort St. George say, that the said Vizier, Chicklis Cawn, was in the Metchlepatam country, and from thence intended to march to Bengal to enlarge his power. Time only must discover the event of these troubles: in the interim keep a watchful eye to preserve yourselves from danger, and keep up your friendship with the Hughly government, which may be the more necessary in this critical juncture.

Letter to
Bengal,
1 Dec. 1725.

The Directors announced to the government that they had obtained his Majesty's Royal Charter for a Mayor's Court at Calcutta.

To enable us by virtue thereof to have our affairs in all those places, and within the districts therein-mentioned, as also in all the subordinate factories in those presidencies, managed with greater authority than ever hitherto, we applied to get the management of the civil affairs, as near as we could, agreeable to the practice and methods of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George, which have continued for many years, as you will see in the said charter,

Letter to
Bengal,
17 Feb. 1726.

of

Letter to
Bengal,
17 Feb. 1726.

of which we send you, by the 'Bridgwater,' an exemplification under the great seal of this kingdom.

Various books of instruction for the proceedings of the new court, were transmitted with the despatch.

13. If you apply heartily, as we earnestly recommend to you to endeavour, you will bring the Mayor's Court, though new with you at present, into use and good liking of all the people, for doubtless there doth arise among you at times some disputes in the matters of *meum* and *tuum*, and if you do exercise the other powers with prudence and justice: and we must tell you it is greatly incumbent on you so to do, for the very intimations of kings are commands, and if not obeyed, or their grants not thankfully accepted and made use of as they ought, may bring you as well as us into a premunire.

15. Be you particularly careful on your part, and let the mayor and aldermen know that we also earnestly recommend to them, to check the first beginnings of any oppressions, exactions, misbehaviour towards any, or the least foul practice of the attornies and other officers of the court; keep them all within due bounds of decorum, and discountenance all attempts of prolonging of suits. In the instructions are certain distances of times between one part of the processes and what next is to follow; let the court curtail them as much as equitable may be, for justice may be rendered sour by delaying the most expeditious it can be made in reason is thereby the better.

Jaffier Khan the Nabob of Bengal, died in 1725, and was succeeded by Sujah Khan, his son-in-law, who removed to Moorshedabad, accompanied by two omrahs, one of whom was Ally Verdy Khan.

The

The Court adverted to the event in the following terms :—

We find you seem to lament the death of your old Nabob Jaffer Cawn, and wish that he may be succeeded by his son-in-law Sujah Cawn, who you say had on many occasions showed the English his friendship and favour. Wherefore, we are very glad to find by your's of the 28th of January, that he had been appointed and confirmed in that high station, hoping that he will continue us his friendship and favour: so that we flatter ourselves that our affairs, under your care, will not be any ways prejudiced by this change in your government.

Letter to
Bengal,
21 Feb. 1728.

In 1729, Ally Verdy Khan was appointed governor of Bahar, and ultimately, through intrigue and treachery, proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

The following orders to Bengal, explain the origin of the appointment of a Council of *nine* Members, which continued until Parliament entered upon an inquiry into the affairs of the Company.

Para. 11. The badness of the goods sent us for two years past, having not only raised a general clamour among the buyers, but also great uneasiness in the Proprietors of the Company's stock, and we being convinced that there has been a culpable neglect in the management of our affairs by the unequal sortment of the goods, deficiencies in their lengths and breadths, and excessive high prices, together with the vast quantities of fine unvendable articles sent us, contrary to our orders, and having kept back great quantities of goods we wanted and ordered, and have been employed for their private trade; by the first we are great sufferers, and by the last we are deprived of
great

Letter to
Bengal,
3 Dec. 1731.

Letter to
Bengal,
3 Dec. 1731.

great profits that we might naturally have expected, those goods being greatly in demand; for these reasons, and to strike terror to those that succeed, we have thought fit to ~~dismiss from our service six members~~. This extraordinary step we have been obliged to take, in order to remedy these and any such like evils, and to clear our reputations from the censure the world would otherwise throw upon us, that we connived at the bad actions of our servants, hereby convincing mankind that we are not biassed with favour or affection to any particular person whatsoever.

12. By these ships we have sent a commission under our seal, constituting and appointing John Stackhouse, Esq. to be President, with eight other members, for the management of all our affairs at Calcutta, and the factories subordinate thereto, hereby directing the military, and all under our protection, to pay all due respect to such orders as you shall think fit to make for our advantage, or the benefit of the place.

13. We persuade ourselves that you, the now President and Council, having such an example of our just resentment set before you, will, in your several stations, discharge the great trust reposed in you, by ~~studying to advance the Company's interest by all possible means~~; and as we are informed that great mischiefs happen to our interest, as well as to your own destruction, by ~~the private trade of India, as it is at present, and has for some years past been carried on, to a much greater degree than it should have been, we reserve ourselves to give our opinion upon that head by the latter ships~~.

The Court then urge upon the Council the importance of setting an example of economy.

17. Among the rest of complaints from your place, is none of the least, the extravagant way of living, of which

which we shall enlarge more in our next letters; at present we only recommend it very seriously to our new president, that he shews a good example of frugality, by keeping a decent retinue, such as formerly was practised, for the dignity of his station; and not fall into that foppery of having a set of musick at his table, and a coach and six, with guards and running footmen, as we are informed is now practised, not only by the president, but some of inferior rank, and that he recommends the same to all those that shall be in lower stations, in order to check this luxury.

Letter to
Bengal,
3 Dec. 1731.

The pirate forces on the Malabar coast had seriously affected the interests of the Company—the successful efforts made by their servants to suppress Angria's power were urged as a ground for seeking favour at the hands of the Nabob, and economy was again pressed upon their attention.

Par. 40. You are, no doubt, well apprized of the great charge we are, and have been at for a series of years, in order to depress and keep under the power of Angria's family upon the Malabar coast, more especially of late, to prevent their seizing upon the Sciddee's territories, which if accomplished, would make them formidable to the highest degree to the whole trade of India, both Moors and Europeans: this has been attended with such desirable success, that their fleets have been either blocked up in harbour, or hindered from committing any considerable depredations, and our servants at Fort St. George inform us, that the courtiers about the Mogul have a very grateful sense of these our services to the common good, and therefore, as you have frequent squabbles with the Nabob at Muxadavad, and other great men about you, we are apt to think that, if proper measures were taken by your vacqueel at court, an order might be

Letter to
Bengal,
31 Jan. 1734.

Letter to
Bengal,
31 Jan. 1734.

obtained commanding the Nabob to use us better, and in a more friendly manner upon that account.

41. We are highly pleased that the extravagant way of living which had obtained such deep rooting among you, is entirely laid aside. Whenever such a practice prevails in any of our servants, we shall always suspect that we are the paymasters in some shape or other, and it seldom fails of bringing them to penury and want; we must, therefore, both for your sakes and our own, earnestly recommend frugality as a cardinal virtue, and by a due regard to the said advice, we do not doubt but the diet and other allowances from us will be amply sufficient to defray all necessary expenses, as Bengal is not only the cheapest part of India to live in, but perhaps the most plentiful country in the whole world.

The Court desired to secure the people from oppression, and they pointed out the necessity of the Council watching the growing influence of the French.

Letter to
Bengal,
23 Jan. 1735.

55. Whenever encroachments are made by farmers or renters, and the poor inhabitants are oppressed by them, contrary to the tenor of their cowles, all such unwarrantable proceedings must be nipt in the bud. It plainly appears from the fifty-ninth paragraph, that they watch all opportunities to extend their power beyond legal bounds, and therefore you must have a constant eye over them, and whenever any just complaints are made against them by the parties aggrieved, be sure to see justice done them, and by taking vigorous measures immediately, thereupon prevent any such foul practices being repeated.

Letter to
Bengal,
12 Dec. 1735.

Now the French are settled at Patna, our chief and council must double their diligence, and keep all the Assamys they can true to our interest, and advance such of them

them as comply with their contracts sufficient sums of money to carry on their business, being cautious to make as few bad debts as possible. We should esteem it an agreeable piece of service, if a year's stock of petre beforehand lay always at Calcutta, and as such recommend it to you, to use your utmost endeavours to accomplish it, provided it can be done without advancing the price, which when obtained will answer very valuable purposes.

Letter to
Bengal,
12 Dec. 1735.

In order to enforce a system of economy in all branches of their establishment, the Directors prescribed the form of an oath to be taken by their servants, binding them to abstain from all pecuniary dealings with the natives whilst they held an official station.

Para. 17. For want of due regard to our orders, we have suffered many evils and much damage, most part of our servants, as we have reason to believe, being fallen into a dependence upon the black merchants and shroffs with whom our business is transacted, and therefore we order, that in the room of the present oath of fidelity, the following oath shall be taken by all who continue in, or shall be admitted as chief and of council at Calcutta, or any of the subordinate factories, and that none but such as do take the said oath shall be deemed, either then or in future, qualified to act in such stations in our service.

Letter to
Bengal,
8 Feb. 1737.

I ——— do swear, that I will be true and faithful to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, and will duly and faithfully execute and discharge the trust reposed in me to the utmost of my skill and power, and that I am not now indebted to, nor will run in debt to or borrow of, directly or indirectly, all or any of the merchants, shroffs, or other persons with whom the said Company now hath made or may make any

contract,

Letter to
Bengal,
8 Feb. 1737.

contract, nor of any other merchants, shroffs, or other persons, by their being security for me, either jointly or separately, above the sum of four thousand rupees in the whole, during my being in this council;—So help me God.

18. And in case at any time any one is found to be guilty of the breach of this oath, you are hereby directed to expel him immediately from our service.

The inhabitants having suffered from the effects of a severe storm, the government came forward to their relief, and a scarcity having arisen in Bengal in the following year, the Directors approved and sanctioned the measures adopted by the government for alleviating the distress on both occasions.

Letter to
Bengal,
13 Dec. 1738.

We approve of your relieving the inhabitants, on their suffering by the storm the loss of their dwellings and great part of their substance, and in forbearing to collect the revenues of the poor people in the town for some time.

Letter to
Bengal,
21 March 1739.

Para. 61. You did well in prohibiting the exportation of rice on the scarcity; the welfare of the place, on all such melancholy occasions, must be first and principally regarded.

62. We cannot but acquiesce, on so general a calamity, in your taking off the duty on all rice brought into the town; and approve of buying a parcel with our money, to deliver out in small parcels at the bazar rate.

At this period Nizam-ul-Mulk, the soubahdar of the Deccan, became jealous of the Nabob Ally Verdy's increasing power in Bengal, and instigated the Mahrattas to demand the *chout*,* or tribute, granted

* *Vide* page 8.

BENGAL.

granted them by the Mogul. They accordingly advanced in the two divisions of Poonah and Berar to Burdwan, under the command of Bajee Row and Ragojee Boonslah. The scourge occasioned by the irruption was dreadful. Commerce was at a stand throughout the provinces; the poor affrighted natives fled in terror from their looms and their fields to the woods, where they either perished from hunger, or fell an easy prey to the wild beasts with which the forests abounded. The inhabitants of Calcutta, dreading a repetition of the calamities, obtained permission to dig a ditch round the city, to the extent of seven miles (the Company's bounds), which was called the *Mahratta Ditch*.

Ally Verdy succeeded, the following year, in obliging the Mahrattas to make a precipitate retreat: upon which occasion he was confirmed by the Mogul soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his remitting annually to Delhi a certain tribute.

The measures taken by the Council to guard against the effects of a repetition of the Mahratta invasion were sanctioned by the Directors.

We entirely approve of the necessary precautions taken on the Morattas' invasion to prevent a surprise, by hiring a number of Lascars, forming the inhabitants into a militia, surveying the town, fortifications, guns, purchasing some small arms and the like; the expense upon such an urgent occasion we cheerfully acquiesce in, relying upon your care and frugality in disbursing our money on every article.

Letter to
Bengal,
21 March 1743.

Letter to
Bengal,
7 May 1746.

Para. 45. As the province is liable to the Morattas' incursions, we would have such additions made to our fortifications as you upon the spot shall deem requisite for the security of the settlements, putting us to no further expense herein than is necessary.

Among the various matters that arose in the course of the Company's government was a question as to what oaths should be administered to Heathens, or Indians, within their respective jurisdictions. The Directors wrote to the government in Bengal :

Letter to
Bengal,
9 March 1747.

Para. 25. Having from time to time consulted the most eminent counsel upon the subject, we send you extracts from the opinions which have been already taken, and hope they will be sufficient for your government.

26. Mr. Browne, the Company's standing counsel, in an opinion of his, says :—

“ If the witness voluntarily takes the oath of his country from the hands of a Bramin, or in the pagodas, in order to give a sanction to his testimony, before he comes to attest a fact, all that you can do is to afford a greater or less share of credit to his evidence, according to the solemnity and the nature of the oath taken, and the degree of reverence in which it is held by the Indians; and from this measure, and the probability of fact testified, the Court must form a judgment upon the whole case according to their real belief of the witness.”

Sir Dudley Rider, attorney-general, Sir John Strange, late solicitor-general, and Mr. Browne, in a joint opinion, say :—

“ We think it safest for the Court to admit the evidence of Heathen witnesses in such cases as have been usual since the
the

the charter, and upon such oaths as are commonly taken by them in case of evidence, according to their respective religions ; but to be particularly careful not to oblige them to take such oaths as their customs render it infamous for them to take."

Letter to
Bengal,
9 March 1747.

The same gentlemen, in answer to another question, say :—

" We are of opinion the Court cannot compel the taking of the Pagoda oath, and if the Court, upon the party's refusal to take, or should, without entering into the merits of the cause, make a decree against the party, we apprehend it would be error, and a foundation for an appeal ; and if the Mayor's Court should endeavour by censure to compel the party to take it, it will be a just ground of complaint against the Court as a misbehaviour in their office."

And the present Attorney and Solicitor-general, Mr. Browne and Mr. Browning, in a joint opinion, say :—

" If the Mayor's Court should insist on an Indian's putting in his answer, or being sworn as a witness in a manner inconsistent with the religion of his caste, it will be proper to bring that matter before the Governor and Council by appeal."

27. We expect these opinions will have that weight with the Mayor's Court to induce them to accept the answers and evidence of the Gentoos, and other natives of India, upon such oaths as are commonly taken by them, and not to insist upon such as their customs render it infamous for them to take.

The Directors, in their instructions to their presidency of MADRAS, cautioned the Council to avoid being involved in the troubles that had arisen amongst the native powers on the Coast.

MADRAS.

They

MADRAS.

They unwillingly consented to incur the heavy charges which the repair of the fortifications had rendered necessary, they pressed the observance of all possible economy, and desired that every encouragement should be given to the native population to settle around the Company's property by just and humane government.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
1 Dec 1725.

The troubles in the country round about you give but a dull prospect. Let it be your care to keep them as far off yourselves as you can; to give no occasion, as far as possibly to be avoided, for quarrelling with you, and to be constantly on your guard.

50. The making no further present to the Nabob, and ordering our people at Vizagapatam not to give any thing when a large present is demanded, are both satisfactory. Every sum parted with is only a temptation to them to expect and demand a greater, and ought never to be done unless on an absolute necessity to prevent a worse mischief.

52. For the reasons by you given, we permit you to rebuild your silver Mint, taking care it be done substantially, and made as useful as you can, but without the charge of ornaments; let frugality be used in the whole. The Powder-house we also consent to be rebuilt, made useful and substantial. The East Curtain at Fort St. David's, and the covering of the Garden-house and the Cudalore Factory, we shall allow of, depending on Mr. Pitt's inspection, that both be done with frugality and substantially performed. It is a prodigious sum our buildings there and at Fort St. George have cost us, so that every motion for laying out more sounds harsh.

58. When we say such or such an article of expense shall not exceed the sum limited by us, we do not thereby mean that we are content it should be so much, as by the letters
before

before us you seem to apprehend when you refer to the months you compared, but our general aim thereby is, that on no pretence it be higher, though as much lower as possible.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
1 Dec. 1725.

59. But what is of the last importance to us is, that the bounds be filled with useful inhabitants, and the only way to get and keep them is by a steady and constant, just and humane government, doing right to every one, and not suffering the voice of oppression to be heard, nor so much as whispered in the streets. We hope Mr. Pitt has been careful, and will continue and persevere therein, which will be for his honour and our advantage. The increase of the inhabitants and of the revenues, and the lessening of the annual expense, will be to us the most convincing arguments of his good management, especially if thereto be added (as we expect) the due care of the investments.

The Directors, in transmitting the charter for the Mayor's Court, describe its constitution, and recommended to that court—

To have always as many of their members there in all judgments to be given by them as possible, not only for the greater solemnity, but also for the more thorough sifting all matters that shall come before them; to prevent, as far as possible, the least mistake or error in the sentence given, as remembering they do therein act in the place of God towards the people; and, according to the Scripture expression, "he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

Letter to Fort
St. George,
17 Feb. 1726.

The financial difficulties of the Company are adverted to as the reason why they could not consent to lower the duties on the trade, and the Council were desired to take measures for inducing the native weavers to settle at Madras.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
6 Feb. 1732:

The

The Court also expressed their satisfaction at the measures taken by the President and Council to give relief during the famine on the coast.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
25 Oct. 1738.

We entirely approve of your laying in a stock of rice, by making a large purchase with twenty-one thousand pagodas of our money, and are highly pleased that it was such an eminent relief to the inhabitants, as is set forth in both your letters. You may be assured that our being no gainers thereby, in such a calamitous time, is by no means displeasing to us. A watchful eye was necessary that those who delivered it out did not charge more than the prime cost. We hope a due care was taken in this important respect, although we don't find, after the first purchase was made in September, the rate fixed by any order of consultation, which we must say had been the regular method to prevent any of our servants, or black people in the warehouse, being *knaves in grain*, as it is wittily expressed in your letter.

The Court desired full information regarding their European rivals, the French.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
30 Dec. 1737.

The most particular intelligence procurable concerning those powerful competitors, the French, and their commerce, must annually be communicated to us, inserting the number of ships, tonnage, imports and exports, with the situation of their affairs, and our other rivals in trade upon the coast of Coromandel.

The incursions of the Mahrattas having been severely felt, the Court observed that,

Letter to Fort
St. George,
20 Jan. 1741.

The Mahrattas invading, overrunning, and plundering the Coromandel coast, give us a most sensible and deep concern, more especially as they came within our bounds, and sent you a most insulting message, tacked to an enormous

enormous and unheard-of demand, which you did well to answer from the mouths of our cannon, and thereupon to put yourselves in the most defensible posture; we hope that long before now the coast is well rid of them, and that the country powers have been roused to defend their subjects' property against all such formidable enemies in future; however that may be, you must by no means become tributary to, or suffer contributions to be levied upon us, either by the Moors or Mahrattas.

Letter to Fort
St. George,
20 Jan. 1741.

The same principles guided the Directors in their instructions to the presidency of BOMBAY. Peace with the Mahrattas—preparations for *defensive* and not *offensive* measures—economy in the repair of fortifications, and limitation in the marine establishment.

BOMBAY.

Para.80. We shall now subjoin our sentiments on the conduct and management of our affairs at Bombay; after hearing all persons who could give us any information of that presidency, or the state of affairs under it.

Letter to
Bombay,
16 Feb. 1741.

82. You will see how much we approve of your measures in making peace with the Mahrattas, at the same time we perceive if it had not been for our express orders, you would not have judged so well for our interests, by being overcome with your false fears.

83. This may intimate to you how acceptable it would have been to us, had you pursued the same measures with respect to all other Indian powers.

85. We must also remark here our dissatisfaction at your employing none of our Council in the important transactions with the Mahrattas and others, for notwithstanding any pretended superior capacities in those you did employ, we do not reckon military men proper judges of these affairs. But rather that they have a strong bias in their minds

1741. minds by warlike notions which incline them to measures as are quite contrary to the true interest of a Trading Society, and not only so, but also to propagate and impress others with notions adapted to promote such ends: from whence is it else possible, that such principles should spring as you are possessed of, particularly that all our credit is gone, because we don't make that figure upon the coast as may make all people afraid of us, if they meddle with any, though they do not belong to us.

86. So far indeed we will grant that it is prudent to suspect them, and to be upon your guard, but there is a great deal of difference in point of charges, betwixt a defensive and offensive state of war, which latter must always be the case while we live in open war; besides the continuing in such a state, compels our enemies to increase their forces, and makes them by degrees to become formidable. And what is the end of all? why, we have a great deal to lose, and they have nothing of any value that you can take from them.

87. We are sensible how much you have been out in your calculate of the charge you are putting us to. This matter should have been entered upon with more caution and judgment, for although we are very willing to be at the charge of fortifying all our settlements in order to secure both ours and the inhabitants' property living under our protection, yet this should be undertaken in a reasonable and practicable manner. Whether your works are such we are told there is some reason to doubt.

88. In the third resolution you will see that we are utterly averse to the keeping up such a marine force as you require. We are unanimously of opinion, the force we now allow you is sufficient for your safety and our purpose, which in short is our own defence, and no farther.

The

1741.

The present chapter may be viewed as introductory to this work. It presents little to interest the general reader, but when connected with the extraordinary fact, that these limited settlements with a few hundred men are now the principal presidencies of an empire containing one hundred million of native subjects, yielding a tribute of more than three millions annually to Great Britain, possessing an army of 200,000* rank and file, and that in its acquisition history records the brilliant achievements of our most illustrious soldiers and distinguished statesmen, there is scarcely an Englishman who must not feel desirous of some information, as to the progressive steps by which such vast possessions have been obtained. A knowledge of the facts may also dissipate some of the unfavorable impressions which have been more or less imbibed, regarding the East-India Company, whose character has been gathered from Parliamentary documents prepared for a given purpose, rather than from a fair and candid statement of events as they arose.

A brief reference has been made to the early history of Hindostan, and to those states which arose on the dismemberment of the Mogul power. The settlement of the first Europeans on the continent of India; the incorporation of the East-India Company in 1600; the establishment

* In 1826, the army consisted of 276,000.

1741. blishment of a rival corporation ; the petition of the original Company to Parliament against the measure, and the ultimate union of both companies have been adverted to. Extracts have been given from the orders and instructions of the Court of Directors to their servants at this early period of the United Company, in the exact terms in which they were conveyed to India. Although quaintly expressed, they evince sound sense, and a shrewd knowledge of human nature. They repudiate the idea of the Company desiring to acquire territorial possessions : they also manifest a laudable anxiety to foster and protect the natives ; to infuse a spirit of economy in the public expenditure ; and that justice should be impartially and duly administered.

CHAPTER II.

THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY were now to contend with their most powerful European rival for political supremacy in India. 1746-1755.

Having advanced one million at three per cent. for the use of the public in 1744, the exclusive trade was continued to them until 1780. With the exception of their commercial concerns, and the treaty concluded by their representatives at Bombay with the Mahrattas in July 1739,* in order to preserve their respective rights in issuing passes, &c., few matters of moment occurred until the year 1746, when the effects of the union between France and Spain, which occasioned hostilities in Europe, and involved Great Britain, were soon felt in India. England had suffered so severely both by sea and land, that great dissensions were caused throughout the country; but no sooner did the French attempt to aid the Pretender, who

* This treaty consisted of fourteen articles, and was executed in July 1739, between Mr. Law, governor of Bombay, on behalf of the Company, and Bajee Rao, the first minister of the most serene Sou Rajah.—*Vide* Treaties and Engagements with the Native Princes, &c. printed in 1812, p. 477.

who had landed on the western coast of Scotland in July 1745, (encouraged as they had been by the supporters of the civil war,) than all differences were forgotten in the united energies of the people to support the crown, and oppose the influence of the French councils.

Madras captured.

Hostilities in India commenced between the French and English forces on the coast of Coromandel. The former fitted out an expedition at Pondicherry, besieged, and took Madras; an event that entailed a loss of £180,000 on the Company.

The enemy had so superior a fleet that the Company petitioned the crown to strengthen the British naval force in India. In announcing the result, the Directors wrote :

Letter to
Bengal,
16 Oct. 1747.

Para. 3. Upon our strenuous application His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to send a strong squadron of men of war, under the command of the honourable Rear-Admiral Boscawen, with these our ships whereon this letter is sent.

7. In case Rear Admiral Boscawen, or the commander in chief of His Majesty's forces, should require your assistance in attacking the enemy any where near you, we hereby order you to give it him to the utmost of your power, and to put under his command what military, marine, or other force you can possibly procure or spare consistent with the safety of your place.

The Court animadverted upon the apparent want of firmness on the part of the Bengal government in not supporting the Company's interests against those of the French, whose success at Madras had

had filled the Council at Calcutta with fear for their own safety. 1748.

Para. 2. It is plain from the apprehension you was under on the loss of Madras, lest the French should destroy you next, that you neither thought your own strength, though supported at that time by six of His Majesty's ships, nor the neutrality of the country a sufficient security, and you at all times stand so much in awe of the country government that they easily and shamefully raise immense contributions upon you at the Company's expense, though almost always under pretence of abuses in carrying on private trade.

Letter to the
Governor of
Fort William,
June 17, 1748.

6. If you do not prevail upon the Nabob to acquiesce in your setting about the works and fortifications without molestation, you are to let him know in a proper manner. You have our orders to make Calcutta as secure as you can against the French, or any other European enemy; and that if he obstructs you in following those orders you are forbid to issue any money for trade, and must do the best you can to fulfil them. Tell him that you shall be sorry to be obliged to take such measures as may be ruinous to his revenues and the trade of the country in general; and you may add, the King of England having the protection of the Company greatly at heart, as they may perceive by the strong force he hath sent to the East-Indies to meet the French, His Majesty will support the Company in whatever they think fit to do for their future security; for though a peace is now making with France, no one knows how long it may last, and when war is broke out it is always too late to make fortifications strong enough to make defence against an enterprising enemy; as appears from what happened at Madras, where strong works were erecting, but could not be half finished before the French attacked and took the place.

1748.
MADRAS.

Madras was restored to the Company by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle; and the Directors appointed an engineer-general for the purpose of superintending, and where necessary, in constructing fortifications both at Madras and Calcutta.

1754.

The French, under Dupleix, took part in the contentions of two rival native chiefs, who respectively claimed the nabobship of the Carnatic. The point in dispute was, whether Mahomed Ali should be acknowledged Nabob. His pretensions were supported by the English, and opposed by the French. In order to terminate the hostilities in which we had been engaged during a series of years, a negotiation between M. Dupleix and Mr. Saunders took place at Fort St. George, in January 1754. The negotiation was broken off, and matters were taken up by the governments of the two nations in Europe—Lord Holderness negotiating for the English, and M. Daveleur on the part of the French: the Duke of Newcastle and the French ambassador, the Duc de Mirepoix, sharing in the conference and decisions when necessary. The little knowledge possessed by the parties in Europe, as to Indian affairs, rendering it utterly impossible for them to adopt any definitive arrangement, M. Godeheu was sent out to supersede M. Dupleix in the government of all the French possessions in India, and arrived at Pondicherry in August 1754. On the 11th October, a suspension of arms was agreed upon ;

upon ; and, on the 23d December, a provisional treaty, subject to confirmation in Europe, was signed at Pondicherry. By that treaty, Mahomed Ali was left Nabob of the Carnatic.

1754.

MADRAS.

During the above-mentioned operations Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive first displayed those extraordinary talents, which were so successfully exerted in laying the foundation of our Indian empire. It is a singular coincidence, that the soldier who achieved such conquests, and the historian who recorded those achievements, were both appointed Writers by the Court of Directors on the same day, *viz.* the 15th December 1742 ; Clive for Madras, and Orme for Bengal. Clive reached Madras in 1743. He appears to have had a strong predilection for a military life, for which he soon abandoned the civil service. He held the rank of ensign under Major Lawrence in 1747. The Court of Directors, in their letter to Madras of the 4th December 1747, alluding to the capture of that settlement, wrote : “ Be sure to encourage Ensign Clive in his martial pursuits, according to his merit : any improvement he shall make therein shall be duly regarded by us.” Again, on the 24th January 1753, adverting to the favourable change in their affairs on the coast, and to the services of Major Lawrence, they observed : “ And here it is but justice to express the great regard we have for the merit of Captain Clive, to whose courage and conduct the late favourable

Clive appointed a Writer.

1754.
MADRAS.

turn in affairs has been greatly owing, and he may be assured of our having a just sense of his services." After a series of gallant exploits, among which the siege of Arcot stood most prominent, he returned to England, on account of his health, in October 1753. He received the thanks of the Court of Directors, with other marks of their approbation.

At this period, the Directors pressed most strongly upon the attention of his Majesty's ministers, the great increase that had taken place in the French power in India. They pointed out the intelligence contained in their last advices from India, by which it appeared the French Commissioners were pursuing measures that would inevitably bring the whole of the Company's trade and their settlements on the coast of Coromandel under French influence. The Company represented that they had exerted themselves in sending out men and military stores, and that they intended to send a further force and to exert themselves as far as a trading company could, but they felt it to be a duty which they owed to the public and themselves, to lay the facts before ministers, in order that the same might be made known to the King.

In March 1755, the Court having appointed Colonel Clive a member of the Madras council, he embarked with his family for India on board the Streatham. He first reached Bombay, arriving
at

at the period when the pirate forces of ~~Angora~~, which had overpowered many merchant vessels, received a severe check by a fleet under Commodore James, the commander of the Company's ships of war in India. The Council at that presidency were encouraged to follow up the success of the commodore by attempting a decisive blow against ~~Gheria~~, the principal station of the pirates. A considerable fleet belonging to his Majesty, accompanied by Commodore James with the Company's ships, the troops on board being commanded by Colonel Clive, accordingly stood into the river in February 1756, and burnt the whole of the enemy's fleet, compelling the garrison to surrender.

1756.

BOMBAY.

Pirates subdued.

1756-7.

By the treaty of the 12th October, which immediately followed these transactions, † Bancote and various villages were ceded by the Mahrattas to the Company in exchange for ~~Gheria~~; it being agreed that the Dutch should never be permitted to settle in the Mahratta dominions. Various arrangements were also entered into with sundry Rajahs on the Malabar coast, conferring certain privileges of trade; and in 1759 a phirmaund was obtained from the Mogul, granting the government of ~~Surat~~ to the Company.

In Bengal Seraje-ud-Dowlah had succeeded his grandfather, Ally Verdy. He was of a cruel, vindictive, and sullen disposition, of profligate habits

BENGAL.

Cruelties of the Nabob.

* *Vide* page 33.† *Vide* printed Treaties.

1756.
BENGAL.

habits, and entertained strong feelings of dislike to the English. It was during his government that the massacre in the Black Hole at Calcutta took place; one hundred and forty-six persons, including Mr. Holwell, the governor of Fort William, being incarcerated, in an intensely sultry night in the month of June, in a dungeon not twenty feet square—of whom not more than twenty-three came out alive the ensuing morning. Mr. Holwell was himself amongst the survivors; notwithstanding the shock which his constitution received, he returned to England, and lived to the age of ninety.

Clive sent with
an expedition
to Calcutta.

The Nabob, after that event, having evacuated Calcutta, a deputation was despatched to Madras, to solicit immediate and effectual succour: it reached Fort St. George on the 5th August.* A detachment of ~~nine hundred Europeans~~, with fifteen hundred sepoys, under the command of Colonel Clive, was immediately despatched to Bengal, accompanied by Admiral Watson, with a squadron then fortunately in the roads, consisting of the Kent, sixty-four (the Admiral's); the Cumberland,

* Among the troops selected in the first instance, was the regiment commanded by Colonel Aldercorn, a king's officer, who declined serving under Clive or even to admit of his troops embarking for Calcutta, although before leaving England in 1754, he applied to the Court of Directors for additional pay, when they resolved that his troops should be paid the same as the Company's troops, the Company paying the difference.—*Court Papers, 27th July 1754.*

Cumberland, seventy, on which Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag ; the Tiger, sixty ; Salisbury, fifty ; Bridgewater, twenty ; and a fire-ship ; together with transports for the troops. On the 27th December, all the ships and vessels had arrived at Fulta, and the next afternoon anchored ten miles below the fort at Budge-Budge, which Admiral Watson determined to attack the following morning. An ambuscade was planned to intercept the retreat of the garrison. It was directed by Colonel Clive in person, and proved the prelude to more serious operations. The Mogul general having marched from Calcutta to aid the garrison at Budge-Budge, with fifteen hundred horse and two thousand foot, an engagement took place. Monick Chund, the native commander, was obliged to retreat with his troops to Hooghly, and from thence to the Nabob of Moorshedabad. On the 2d January 1757, at nine in the morning, the Kent and Tiger anchored before the gates of Fort William, the batteries of which were silenced by eleven, the fort was shortly evacuated, and a detachment under Captain Coote took possession, with loud acclamations ; the British colours being once more hoisted on the ramparts. Mr. Drake and the former members of council were, the following day, solemnly reinstated by Admiral Watson.*

The

1756.

BENGAL.

1757.

Calcutta
retaken.

Council
restored.

* At a General Court, the 21st December 1757.—“ Resolved, That the thanks of this General Court be given to Vice-Admiral Watson,

1757.
BENGAL.

Clive's powers.

The orders given to the Admiral and Colonel Clive when they left Madras were, to obtain full reparation of all injuries, and eventually to attack the tyrant in his capital. The Council, on the 8th January, advised the Court of Directors of the recapture of Calcutta, and, on the 31st, of the success against Hooghly. In the latter despatch, they adverted to the instructions from the President at Fort St. George, directing that Colonel Clive, as commander of all the forces, might be furnished with plans for a treaty with the Nabob, having placed four lacs of rupees at his command, and empowered him to deviate from the whole or part of such plans, should he consider them to be inconsistent with the Company's interests.

Council at
Calcutta ex-
postulate.

The Council at Calcutta appeared to view with strong feelings of jealousy the position in which Clive stood towards them by virtue of those instructions. They remarked, in their letter to the Directors, that "the authority the Select Committee at Fort St. George have assumed, in appointing Colonel Clive commander-in-chief of the forces in Bengal, is so unaccountable, that we cannot avoid taking notice of it as an encroachment of the rights and trusts invested in us." Notwithstanding the important services Clive had already

Watson and to Vice Admiral Pocock; for their eminent and signal services to the Company."—"Resolved, That the thanks of this General Court be given to Lieut.-Colonel Robert Clive, for his eminent and signal services to this Company."

already rendered, and the probability of the Nabob's advancing towards Calcutta, the Council added, "we have required of Colonel Clive to recede from the independent powers given him by the Select Committee, but he has refused to surrender that authority; we must therefore leave it to you, Honourable Sirs, to take notice of so injurious a conduct in your servants on the coast."

It had been arranged that Clive should return to Madras, when the service on which he had been sent was completed. It is fully apparent that he intended to have acted upon that arrangement, and he only departed from it in order to secure the more important interests of the Company in Bengal. He wrote to the Court, on the 1st February, dated in camp near Calcutta, of the measures which he had adopted for placing the presidency in a proper state of defence. He alluded to the posture of affairs at Madras with M. Bussy, and observed, "All circumstances concur to make me wish a speedy accommodation in this province, both with the Nabob and the French, and it is my ardent desire to be enabled to embark for the coast this month, with some of the troops; but it is hardly to be expected that matters will be sufficiently settled to admit of it. I am so sensible of the consequence the trade of this province is of to the Company, that I think I ought not, on any account, to draw off part of the troops while a fair prospect remains of a speedy and advan-

tageous

1757.

BENGAL.

Clive explains the reason for retaining his powers.

1757.

BENGAL.

tageous conclusion of affairs, either by force of arms or a treaty." Adverting to the powers which he possessed, and to the circumstance that the Council had left the negotiations to be transacted by the admiral and himself, he stated, " All propositions the Council at Calcutta make will be attended to ; and, for my part, you may be assured that, notwithstanding my independent command, I shall endeavour to maintain a perfect harmony with them, and act throughout with their participation. They thought proper, some time ago, to demand a surrender of my commission as commander-in-chief, and that I would put myself under their orders. While I looked upon myself as obliged to refuse, in justice to those who had entrusted me with such powers, I represented that I had no intentions of making use of any independent powers, unless they induced me to it by necessity, for we had but one common interest to pursue, which was that of the Company, and as long as that was kept in view, they would always find me ready to follow their instructions."

Colonel Clive's communication appears to have been governed by a just sense of the position in which he was placed, and to have manifested every disposition to act in harmony with the Council, who felt aggrieved at their power having been set aside. At such a juncture, all personal feeling should have been waived for the common good, especially in favour of an officer who had evinced

evinced qualifications admirably calculated to meet great emergencies, and whose foresight, even on the occasion in question, appears to have given him a just claim to the confidence which had been reposed in him.

1757.

BENGAL.

Two days after the despatch of the foregoing letter to the Directors, intelligence was received at the Presidency, that the Nabob, on learning the fate of Hooghly, was highly exasperated, and had quitted his capital, marching at the head of his forces towards Calcutta. On the 3d February, he offered to restore the settlements and to make reparation; while, at the same time, the van of his army appeared in sight, passing towards Calcutta, immediately without reach of the cannon of the battery to the eastward.

Nabob advances with his army to Calcutta.

Coja Patras, the Armenian who brought the letter containing the offer, declared that the Nabob would wait at Gunge until the conference was over. Two gentlemen were accordingly deputed to meet him, and to carry an assurance of the satisfaction with which his pacific intentions had been received. The Nabob had nevertheless proceeded on to Dum-Dum: the deputation immediately followed, and only came up with him in the town of Calcutta. On pointing out to him his departure from what had been arranged, and expostulating against his army remaining in the vicinity of the Presidency, he haughtily refused to withdraw his forces.

Colonel

1757.

BENGAL.

Colonel Clive, perceiving that he was merely attempting to amuse him with overtures; considering also the state of confusion in which Calcutta had already been plunged by the Nabob's presence; and foreseeing the fatal consequences that would ensue from the entrance of his forces into the town, determined, notwithstanding the small number of troops he could collect, to attack the enemy the following morning before daybreak. The morning was foggy. Clive penetrated the enemy's camp, and for two hours did great execution; but the fog not clearing off, he was unable to follow up his advantages. On the 6th February, the Nabob removed to Dum-Dum, where a treaty was concluded, by which he ratified all the privileges which the English had enjoyed, and engaged to make restitution of their various settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, and Dacca, with their money and effects. They were likewise permitted to fortify Calcutta. Perwannahs were granted for freedom of trade, and privileges to the Company's dustucks,* and they were allowed to erect a Mint at Calcutta.

Treaty with
the Nabob.

Intelligence was at this time received that the Affghauns had defeated the Mogul, that their leader had seized the government, assuming the title of Ahmud Shah, orders having been given for coins, in the province of Bengal, to be struck in

* *Vide* Printed Treaties, pages 1 to 6.

in the name of the new Emperor, and that the Nabob was advancing to his frontier to make an alliance with his neighbour, the Nabob of Lucknow, sometimes called *Owd*, for their mutual support in the then disturbed state of the empire.

1757.

BENGAL.

There were strong reasons to believe that the French had instilled into the mind of the Nabob feelings of jealousy towards the English. Offers of neutrality had been made to them, at the commencement of the operations against the Nabob, to which they gave no reply. Colonel Clive intended to have attacked Chandernagore, but abstained, the Nabob having declared that it would be a violation of the treaty so lately concluded. A request was shortly afterwards received from the Governor of Chandernagore, for a neutrality within the Ganges, to which, at the instance of the Council, Clive assented. He announced the result to the Court of Directors on the 22d February, and stated, "All operations, therefore, are now over, and I may hope, in a few days, to take my passage for the coast, with the satisfaction of having left your affairs well re-established, and a general tranquillity in the provinces."

French instigate the Nabob.

Neutrality proposed.

Clive contemplates returning to Madras.

Scarcely had this despatch been sent off for Europe, when it was found that the proposed neutrality with the French had not been confirmed by the authorities at Pondicherry, and that the French were still intriguing with the Nabob.

Operations against the French.

Clive,

1757.

BENGAL.

Clive, in communication with Admiral Watson, accordingly determined to attack Chandernagore : it being ascertained that the Nabob would not interfere, and that we were at liberty to act as we pleased towards our European rivals. On the 13th March, ~~the fort was summoned~~ : no answer being received the western battery was attacked the following morning. Various operations were carried on until the 23d, when it surrendered. The Governor and Council of Chandernagore were removed to Chinsura.

Chandernagore
surrenders.

The Council being apprised that the Dutch not only harboured the French prisoners who had escaped, but also furnished them with money, guides, and even arms, Clive summoned all the French on parole to repair to his camp, and insisted that the late Governor and Council of Chandernagore should remove to Calcutta. The remainder of the French were required to reside at Chandernagore, or any where to the south of Chinsura.*

Nabob's officers and people
oppose his government.

A few days after this occurrence, intelligence was received by Clive, then at the presidency, that Seraje-ud-Dowlah's conduct had completely disgusted his principal officers, who, with a great majority of his people, were strongly opposed to his retaining the government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; they

* Letter to the Court from Colonel Clive, camp near Chandernagore, 16th April 1757.

they desired to know whether the Council would aid in the restoration of Jaffier Ally Khan, who had also sent an agent to ascertain their feelings towards himself. It was apparent that the Nabob had become decidedly inimical to the interests of the English. He had espoused and protected M. Law and his party after the reduction of Chandernagore; and it was also discovered that he was in correspondence with M. Bussy on the coast, to whom he had made considerable presents, with an invitation to march towards Bengal. He had not acted up to his treaty with the Company, —his army was hostile to him, and it was clear that, whether we took part or not in favour of Meer Jaffier, a revolution would ensue for the purpose of deposing Seraje-ud-Dowlah, whilst our abstaining from all interference might, in the peculiar situation we then stood, place the interests of the Company in a very questionable position. Under these circumstances, with the means also of making their own terms with Jaffier, and obtaining some satisfaction for the inhabitants of Calcutta, in order to relieve them from their heavy losses in the capture, besides establishing the tranquillity of the country, and cutting off the influence of the French, the Council unanimously resolved to support the views of Jaffier Ally Khan. The terms of a treaty were accordingly drawn out, and a deputation appointed to wait upon him. The articles were discussed, agreed to, and signed

1757.

BENGAL.

Nabob inimical to the English.

Reasons why Council concurred in his being deposed.

on

1757.
BENGAL.

On the 19th May.* By this treaty Jaffier agreed to pay the Company a crore of rupees for their losses in the capture of Calcutta, and to grant compensation to the English inhabitants for their loss in their plundered effects. All the land lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Calpee, was to be under the zemindary of the Company, with other possessions.

Various additional circumstances arose, which confirmed the report of Seraje-ud-Dowlah being in communication with M. Bussy: The march of the Company's troops was pressingly urged towards Moorshedabad, in support of Meer Jaffier. Colonel Clive proceeded on the 13th June, with all his forces, amounting to only 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon. On the 18th, he took the fort of Cutwa; on the 22d, in the evening, the army crossed the river; and on the 23d June, the battle of Plassey took place. The most decisive victory was obtained, by the prudence and valour of Colonel Clive, over the Nabob; his army being dispersed, and he himself obliged to seek safety in flight from Moorshedabad. Meer Jaffier was in waiting at that city to receive Clive; who, after the first salutations were over, led him to the musnud; and, placing him upon it, made obeisance to him as lord of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and

* *Vide* Printed Treaties, pages 6 to 23.

and Orissa, presenting, at the same time, a plate of gold coin. All the omrahs then present likewise paid their homage and presented gold, Meer Jaffier being afterwards publicly proclaimed as Nabob.

1757.

BENGAL.

Intelligence having reached the Directors, in the month of July 1757, of the recapture of Calcutta, they determined to issue a new commission of government. The Court disapproved of the authority assumed by the Madras council, on the original deputation of Colonel Clive to Bengal, but resolved, notwithstanding the sentiments of the Council at Calcutta being opposed to his independent powers, to name Clive (*if in Bengal*) at the head of it. "Should he have returned to his station on the coast of Coromandel, as there was reason to believe would be the case, then the other parties" named were to take their respective stations and rank.

Clive appointed to the head of the Government in Bengal by the Court of Directors.

In the month of September following, the Directors received a letter from Colonel Clive, dated the 22d of February, intimating that "he hoped, in a few days, to take his passage for Madras, leaving all in tranquillity in Bengal."*

The

* This is corroborated by a letter which Colonel Clive addressed to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, and by the application which he made to Admiral Watson, to place at his disposal a twenty-gun brig, to take such troops as were left to Madras, he intending to follow immediately the Nabob's engagements had been concluded, as the admiral and fleet were

1757.

BENGAL.
Commission
revoked on
Clive's sup-
posed depar-
ture.

The Court, on the 11th November, accordingly revoked their commission of the 3d August preceeding, and appointed those gentlemen members who, they concluded, would be at Calcutta. The custom which had prevailed was to be adhered to, *viz.* the three senior members taking the chair each successively for four months; and a Select Committee, consisting of five of the members, was appointed to transact the affairs with the country governments, and to preserve secret such of their proceedings as they might judge expedient.

Council at Cal-
cutta request
Clive to take
the office of
President.

These orders arrived at Calcutta in June 1758: on the 26th of which month, the Council resolved, in the peculiar state of affairs which detained Colonel Clive in Bengal, to request him to take upon himself the office of permanent President. Clive signified his assent to the Council in the following terms, *viz.*

1758.

Clive accepts
it, but expres-
ses dissatisfac-
tion at having
been excluded
by the Court.

“ Though I think I have cause to be dissatisfied with the Court of Directors, for laying me aside in their new form of government, without any reason assigned, after having named me as head of the General Committee in the letter of the 3d August last, yet, animated by the noble example
of

not to sail for the coast till much later in the year. These points, though apparently trifling, are material, to shew that it was not a systematic course of predetermined conquest by which he was actuated, but that one circumstance arose after another, which led to the series of extraordinary and important events in which he so signally distinguished himself.

of public spirit which you have set me, I have determined to waive all private considerations where the general good is concerned ; and as there is no doubt that the government of a single person, involved as we are now with the country powers, must have infinite advantages over the complicated form of government established from home, I shall from that motive (though both my health and private concerns strongly require my returning to Europe) accept the offer you have done me the honour to make me, till such time as our employers have appointed a president in the usual form."

1758.

BENGAL.

It appears to have escaped Clive's recollection, that the Court had every reason to conclude he had returned to Madras, and that they were also ignorant of the circumstances which led to the battle of Plassey, as well as of the victory and its results. When, however, the intelligence of his retention in Bengal, and of his subsequent proceedings, became known to the Directors, in the month of February 1758, they anticipated the resolution of the Bengal Council; for on the 8th of March they appointed him, in consideration of his eminent and repeated services, to be sole President and Governor of Fort William, in case it should suit his health and convenience to remain in India; adding, "Colonel Clive, as governor, is, of course, to be added to the Select Committee appointed by our letter of

Court learning that Clive remained in Bengal appoint him sole President.

1758.

BENGAL.

the 11th November, of which he is to be the chief and presiding member.”

These orders were issued and despatched from England three months before the resolution of the Council at Calcutta was passed, appointing Clive president.

It was doubtless in ignorance of these facts, that Orme and Scrafton imbibed the notion, that the Home authorities manifested neglect towards Clive on the occasion in question. Whatever feelings might have been raised in Clive's mind, they appear to have been fully effaced by the receipt of the Court's orders of March, which he acknowledged from Calcutta in the following terms: * “ Words can but poorly express the sentiments of my heart on receipt of your general address. Please to accept, in return, all that the most lively gratitude can offer, and be assured my utmost endeavours shall be exerted in the service of those, who have done more justice to my merits than they can pretend to deserve.”

Clive thanks the Court for their nomination of him.

Supply of troops from Bengal to Madras.

Bussy, the commander of the French forces on the coast, was involved in considerable difficulties with the principal Rajah of Golconda, who had sent letters to Colonel Clive, requesting the Company's aid. An expedition was despatched at the instance of Clive from Calcutta, in the month of October, under Colonel Forde, consisting

* Letter from Colonel Clive to the Court of Directors, 30th December 1758.

ing of 500 Europeans, artillery included, and 2,000 sepoy, on board the Company's ships ; Mr. Johnson, a Company's servant, being previously sent to the coast to prepare for the arrival of the troops.

1758.

BENGAL.

In urging a supply of troops from Europe, as necessary to secure the great acquisitions already made, the Council observed, " though matters are perfectly quiet at present, 'tis hard to say how long the calm will last ; and such is the nature of this country and government, that the only certain expedient of securing their friendship is, by keeping up such a force as will render it unsafe for them to break with us, and the large addition of territory you have acquired by the late treaty has afforded the means of paying the troops."

Council urge
supply of
troops from
Europe.

In December, the Council again urged on the Court of Directors the absolute necessity of sending a sufficient force, " in order to fix the great revolution that has been here brought about in their favour."

In this infant state of the Company's political power, it is difficult to conceive the obstacles which they had to surmount in supplying the necessary succours to enable their servants to maintain their ground, amidst the jealousy and opposition of European and native enemies.

Owing to the war in Germany, and to the extended operations in North America, the Court of Directors could scarcely obtain any recruits.*

Through

* The records of the Company bear ample testimony to the anxiety manifested by the Court of Directors to meet the

1758. Through the special interposition of the Duke of
 BENGAL. Marlborough, then Master-General of the Ordnance, the Court were enabled to secure three officers from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, to aid in fortifying the settlements against any future attacks.

In reply to the remonstrances contained in subsequent despatches, in consequence of what the Council at Calcutta conceived to be the inattention on the part of the Court of Directors to their earnest requests for troops, the Court remarked: *—

Had not his Majesty been graciously pleased to order a large military reinforcement to proceed to India this season, yours, as well as the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, would have been unavoidably supplied by the Company in a very short degree: for so long as the demand for the national service subsists, it has been, and will be, almost impossible, notwithstanding our outmost efforts, to raise a number of recruits nearly adequate to what our service requires.

The great number of forces granted by his Majesty, including those of this year, will enable us to give you a garrison of 2,000 Europeans during the war; but, upon Mr. Clive's sensible and judicious plan, the forces of our presidencies, at least of Madras and Bengal, will be in common aiding each other, as the different situation of
 affairs

repeated requisitions from Bengal for aid, both in troops and military stores. It was during the operations from 1758 to 1764, that the first Lord Amherst, uncle of the present Earl, so highly distinguished himself as Commander-in-chief of the British forces.

* Letter to Bengal, April 1760.

affairs may demand. Under such a well-concerted union, your garrison may at times be more numerous, or often no more than prudence may deem necessary for your protection against the natives, as happened when you determined upon that noble step of sending Colonel Forde to Mazulipatam. However, thus circumstanced and cemented, you will be a security to each other, and in all human probability out of the reach of danger. The forces that went abroad last year and are now destined for India, will demonstrate that your employers labour incessantly to strengthen and protect their settlements, the glorious successes at home having enabled the Government to grant us large succours, and we must gratefully confess the Ministry's care of this Company. The many remonstrances in almost every letter, would have been spared, if you had reflected properly on our cruel and dangerous situation; our mercantile concerns always giving place to men and stores, when we could possibly obtain them; ever distressed for tonnage, as we carry abroad for the Government seldom less than 1,000 tons annually, exclusive of their men and baggage. The heavy demorage incurred by ships detained by accident or otherwise in India; the immense expenses at Madras, with very scanty returns; your own charges very great, those of Bombay beyond all bounds; our settlements in Sumatra, at the same time, requiring large sums to put them in some state of security against enemies and dangerous neighbours; if these considerations had been duly weighed, your injurious insinuations of being neglected must have been turned into praise, that your employers could do so much under such untoward circumstances. We ourselves look back with wonder at the difficulties we have surmounted, and which, with our contracted capital, must have been impossible, if the Proprietors, generously and without a murmur, had not consented to reduce their dividend 25 per cent.;

but

1758.

BENGAL.

1758.

BENGAL.

but with all our economy and care, unless our servants studiously attend to lessen their charges and increase our advantages, the burthen will be too great for us to bear much longer.

We agree with you, that there must always be a respectable force kept up in Bengal, to secure our noble, and, we hope, improving acquisitions, and to guard against the machinations of our treacherous neighbours, who have already begun to shew themselves; we are determined that the fixed garrison at Calcutta shall not be less than 1,500 Europeans (the blacks at your own discretion); and with such a force, we apprehend, you will always influence and govern the affairs of Bengal.

The public papers have lately had an article, importing that they write from Paris that the Comte D'Artois, Le Berryer, and La Diligente frigates, were to sail the first fair wind from L'Orient for Asia, and were to be joined by five or six other ships from different ports on the coast; and by private intelligence we further hear, that the regiment De Cambyse, one of the oldest and most complete battalions in France, was embarking on the said ships with the utmost expedition, in hopes of reaching India before our troops could arrive.

We flatter ourselves, notwithstanding the expedition the French are using in fitting out this armament, that not only the first embarkation of our troops will reach India before the enemy, but likewise the second, which are now proceeding on the Bengal ships, and that his Majesty's ships will have also joined Mr. Pocock, so that we are not in pain on account of this further effort of the enemy.

In December 1758, Colonel Clive, adverting to the probability of his quitting India in the early part of the following year, wrote to the Court:

“After

“ After the battle of Plassey, I thought my commission of commander-in-chief would have ended there, and that I might have returned to the coast, and from thence to England; but when intestine troubles arose, and the situation of your affairs required my remaining up the country, I did not hesitate to give my services where so justly due.”

1758.

BENGAL.

Clive's reasons
for not quitting
India.

In consequence of the large increase of the Company's forces, and the encouragement which was given by their European opponents to the desertion of their men, an Act was passed which empowered them to hold courts-martial for the punishment of mutiny and desertion.*

Tranquillity prevailed in India; but as Jaffier Khan, the Nabob, was advanced in years, the Council observed, “ that it was impossible to say how long such a state of affairs might continue. His son is cruel, and every day's experience teaches us, that Musselmen will remain no longer true to their engagements than when a successful opportunity may offer to the contrary.” The truth of this observation was fully established in the early part of the following year.

M. Law had been traversing the country as far as Delhi, with the view of engaging the interest of the king in his favour. In February 1759, the Company were opposed to the Shazada, (the title given

1759.

Hostilities
with the
Shazada.

* The 9 Geo. II., which remained in force until the Consolidating Act of 1823, 4 Geo. IV. c. 81.

1759.

BENGAL.

given to the king's eldest son), who had fled from his father's court, and being joined by Law advanced towards Patna. In order to arrest the progress of the prince and to support the Nabob, whose affairs, from his unfavourable position with his zemindars and the arrears of pay due to his troops were involved in great embarrassment, Colonel Clive took the field.* He marched with the utmost expedition to relieve Patna, which city, as well as the province of Bahar, was in danger. The Shazada had arrived at the river Caraminassa, which divides the countries of Oude and Bahar. Clive's operations were successful. The Shazada was compelled to retreat, the affairs in the provinces being brought to a satisfactory termination.

The Shazada
retreats from
Patna.

In the month of August, the Dutch having manifested a disposition to increase their influence by the introduction of a considerable number of European troops at Chinsura, Clive, in communication

* In the Council's letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 19th March 1759, it is said: "The President had a meeting with the Nabob the 9th instant, and after laying before him in the strongest manner the discontent and disaffection of his jemautdars, and representing his treacherous behaviour towards them and non-payment of his people, motives which had encouraged the king's son to this present attempt, the most advisable measures were concerted for the success of the expedition; one of his principal jemautdars, Cossim Ally Cawn, set out for Salabad to take the command of such part of the forces as were arrived there, with which he was to proceed directly for Patna."

cation with the Nabob, detached a force under Colonel Forde against them, and at the same time attacked their shipping, which had advanced up the river. Both operations were successful; the power of the Dutch was so reduced, that they agreed to an arrangement, by which they were to bear all the charges that had been incurred in the course of the operations. In December, the Directors were advised of the grant of a jaghire to Colonel Clive in the following terms: "The Mogul having conferred on Colonel Clive the honour of a munsubdarry, the subah of these provinces, from a sense of the very eminent services rendered him by Colonel Clive, particularly on his late expedition to the northward, has thought proper to present him with the annual rent of those lands which were before paid to himself agreeable to treaty. This will be more particularly explained to you by a copy of the Nabob's phirmaund for this grant, entered after our consultations of the 6th September; in consequence of which we have paid to Colonel Clive what was before paid the subah, and shall continue in future to account with him instead of the Government."*

1759.

BENGAL.

Colonel Clive embarked from Calcutta for Europe in February 1760, and reached Portsmouth in

* The perwannah or grant was sent down by Mr. Hastings, then at Moradabaug, to the Council at Calcutta, 5th Sept. 1759. (*Vide Consultations.*)

1760.

BENGAL.

Clive proceeds
to England.

in July. On the 16th of that month he waited upon the Court of Directors, when he received from their Chairman the expression of their “unanimous thanks for his many eminent and unparalleled services.”*

* In September following, the Proprietors marked their sense of Colonel Clive's services by a public resolution of thanks to him, Admiral Pocock, and Colonel Lawrence. They also resolved unanimously, That the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, when they wait upon Vice-admiral Pocock, Colonel Clive, and Colonel Lawrence, will desire those gentlemen to give their consent that their portraits or statues be taken in order to be placed in some conspicuous parts of this house, that their eminent and signal services to this Company may be ever had in remembrance.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. ~~Howell~~ acted as president of the Council in Bengal until the arrival of Mr. Vansittart from Madras on the 27th July, who had been appointed by the Court successor to Col. Clive.

Mr. Vansittart had scarcely assumed the office of president before the province of Bengal was involved in another revolution. Its internal administration had been so wretchedly conducted by Jaffier Ally Khan, that the Council concurred in his removal. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Khan.

From the terms in which the event was announced to the Court of Directors, they had every reason to conclude that the result would place their possessions in a state of permanent security. Besides a confirmation of the treaty with Meer Jaffier and the payment of the balance of his debt, possession was acquired of the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in full right, to be managed as the Council might judge best for the interest of the Company. Other important points were enumerated, and the Council added,

1760.

BENGAL.

Mr. Vansittart
succeeds as
President.

Jaffier Ally
Khan deposed.

Cossim Ally
Khan, his son-
in-law, suc-
ceeds.

Acquisitions by
Company.

“ We

1760. " We shall at present defer entering upon a detail
BENGAL. of the prodigious benefit of these concessions." Referring to a narrative prepared by Mr. Vansittart, they observed that it was a document which might be esteemed " a perfect manifestation sent to the world of the propriety of the measures we have pursued, and of our adherence to the good of the kingdom."*

In January following, Mr. Vansittart addressed the Court as to the state in which he found affairs in Calcutta, and the circumstances which led to Cossim Ally Khan being placed on the musnud.

I found, as I suspected, great difficulties to struggle with, from the general confusion and disaffection of the country, and the very low state of the Company's treasury. One or the other of these resolutions was immediately necessary—either to drop our connexions with the country government and withdraw our assistance : or to insist on more ample, as well as more certain provision for the support of the Company's expense. The first was dangerous and dishonourable, as it would have given up the country and the Nabob a prey to a multitude of enemies. The other alternative was resolved on.

A favourable opportunity offered of procuring for the Company a cession of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and an agreement was entered into with all possible regard to our alliance with the Nabob. In its consequences, however it was the cause of his resigning the subadaree

* President and Council to the Court of Directors, 10th November 1760.

subadaree and retiring to Calcutta. This change happened without the least disturbance or a man hurt. The old Nabob was received in Calcutta with all the honours due to his rank, and resides there with ease and security. The Company are in possession of the noble territory ceded to them, and we are in a condition of opposing, nay, in a fair way of getting the better of all our enemies.

1760.

BENGAL.

I know, however, that there are many who, led, some by ignorance, but more by prejudice, strive to overlook the necessity of the resolutions taken, the manner and circumstances of their execution, and the advantages procured for the Company, and endeavour to represent the measures as a premeditated breach of treaties, and the consequences as hurtful to the Company, insinuating always that the Select Committee, who unanimously resolved on this plan, and particularly myself, had interested views.

The same motives have been attributed, more or less, to each succeeding government, which has found extended measures terminating in new acquisitions essential to the support of the British interests in India.

In the month of December, the Shazada again approached Bahar, when the Council determined to adopt vigorous measures for the purpose of effectually expelling him from the borders of that province. A considerable force, under the command of Major Carnac, completely defeated him on the 15th January, on the banks of the Servan, M. Law, with his detachment and guns, being taken prisoner.*

Shazada again advances towards Company's provinces, and is completely defeated.

1761.

Shortly

* Mr. Warren Hastings was at this time called from Moradabaug to assist the president in his correspondence with the country government.

1761.

BENGAL.

The king
murdered—the
Shazada suc-
ceeds.

Shortly after these events, the death of the king, by the hand of his vizier, Ghazee-ood-Deen, opened the way for the Shazada to establish his right to the throne. This prince, to whom we had so lately been opposed, now joined the English forces. Since his defeat, he had remained almost alone in the neighbourhood of Patna, and came over without any positive engagement. He was, however, assured that his person would be held sacred, and that he should be maintained in a suitable manner as long as he might remain with the Company's forces.

The Abdallees,* previous to their retiring from Delhi, declared the Shazada king, by the name of Shah Alum. The Mahrattas, from whom he had chiefly to expect opposition, on account of their connexion with the vizier, had been so much weakened through their last defeat by the Abdallees, and so torn by divisions in their own government, as to be incapable of making any considerable efforts. Shuja Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, whose territories then extended from the Caramassa to within a short distance of Delhi, had advanced as far as Benares to meet the king and attend him to his capital.

The Bengal Council were averse to engage in an expedition that was to carry the troops so far as Delhi, particularly at a period when the contemplated

* A tribe of Affghauns.

templated expedition from Madras, against the French islands, had deprived them of the aid of additional forces from the coast. They nevertheless felt that delay might materially injure a cause, which, if supported, would ultimately tend to the security and tranquillity of the Company's provinces. They accordingly authorized Colonel Coote, then at Patna, to advise the king to proceed to join Shuja Dowla ; and to assure him, that if he should think it necessary to carry a detachment of our troops to Delhi, they should be sent to him immediately after the rains.

Intelligence having been received by the Court of Directors of these proceedings, they wrote in the following terms to Bengal : * “ If your endeavours for settling the Shazada upon the throne of his ancestors could be carried into execution without risk to the Company and at a moderate expense, it may secure him in our interest, and be the means of settling the peace and quiet of the kingdom ; but, as a transaction of this kind depends upon many circumstances and unforeseen events, and you have most probably already embarked in this undertaking, we are entirely at a loss to give you any directions, or even our sentiments thereupon, in any other than these general terms : that we hope you have acted, and will act, with the utmost caution, and on considering all circumstances, with

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BENGAL.

* 30th September 1761.

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with that prudence and attention which an affair of such a serious and important nature requires.

“ This is the third revolution in Bengal, wherein the very being of the Company has been, and from their consequences may still be, at stake. Your advancing Jaffier Ally Cawn to the subahship, in the room of Suraja Dowla, was undoubtedly a necessary measure, as well for the good of the country in general as the interest of the Company in particular: your afterwards deposing Jaffier Ally Cawn, and settling Cossim Ally Cawn in his room, we hope was done also with the same view. Upon this presumption and confidence, that no other motives whatsoever had any influence upon you, we must look upon the measures pursued upon this occasion to be unavoidable. At the same time, we cannot help observing, that it is to the great regard the Company have always had to a faithful observance of their agreements, that they acquired, and have hitherto preserved, a reputation with the natives of India: we could have wished, therefore, the situation of affairs would have admitted keeping terms with Jaffier Ally Cawn, that even the least handle for a pretence might not have offered to prejudiced people to make use of; to throw any reflections upon this transaction.”

The king did not wait for the troops, but proceeded towards Delhi accompanied by Major Carnac,

Carnac, who was deputed to escort him to the borders of the provinces. The Nabob of Oude who had been constituted by the king his vizier, supplied him with considerable pecuniary aid. His majesty, on the application of Major Carnac, promised to grant sunnuds for the Company's privileges and possessions in Bengal, whenever a proper tribute should be remitted. "The king also offered to confer on the Company the dewanee of Bengal, on condition of their being answerable for the royal revenues;" but as the Council were sensible that their acceptance of the post would cause jealousy and ill-will between them and the Nabob, they thought it more prudent to decline it. This determination was fully approved by the Court of Directors, "If we can secure our present possessions and privileges in Bengal, preserve the peace of the province and the Nabob in the government, and prevent the borders from being invaded or disturbed by the neighbouring rajahs or other powers, we shall be fully satisfied, and think our forces judiciously employed in answering these principal points: for we are by no means desirous of making further acquisitions, or engaging our forces in very distant projects, unless the most absolute necessity should require it, to answer one or other of the political views afore-mentioned. Your refusal of the dewanee of Bengal, offered by the king, was certainly right, and we are well

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BENGAL.

Dewanee
offered to the
Company, but
declined by
Council.

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satisfied with the just and prudent reasons you give for declining that offer."

1762.

Differences
anticipated
with the
Nabob.

The Council had at this time reason to believe "that some busy persons had been attempting to foment jealousies between them and the Nabob, Cossim Ally Cawn, who continued in Bahar." In order to discover the authors, and to preserve tranquillity, Mr. Hastings was deputed to wait upon the Nabob. Mr. Amyatt and some other of the members of the Council proposed that the instructions to Mr. Hastings should contain a clause authorizing him to demand of the Nabob the twenty lacs of rupees, which it was asserted had been offered by him when the treaty was made, as a present to the gentlemen of the Select Committee. Mr. Vansittart refused to concur in this demand. It was nevertheless made, but was rejected by the Nabob, who declared that he had fulfilled the terms of the treaty, and that he placed full confidence in the Company, on whom he entirely depended. The Directors, on being acquainted with the circumstance, stated that they were at a loss to comprehend upon what grounds the majority of the Council, contrary to the remonstrances made by the President, could venture to authorize Mr. Hastings to demand of the Nabob twenty lacs of rupees, upon the bare pretence that he had made an offer of the sum to Mr. Vansittart and the Select Committee, at the time of making the treaty for his accession, which had been

been then so properly and so honourably refused.
 “ We rejoice (observed the Court) at the just and spirited refusal he gave to that unwarrantable demand.”

1762.

BENGAL.

Circumstances having arisen to induce the President to visit the Nabob, he proceeded to Mongheer, where the subject of the disputes between the Company's gomastahs and the officers of government was attempted to be arranged. It was apparent that the Company's officers, out of reach of immediate inspection, had exercised an almost absolute authority, under the sanction of the English name, carrying on their business by violent and inequitable means, and refusing to pay any duties. The President felt that the King's phirmaunds were never intended to enable the English to engross the whole inland trade of the country, to the prejudice of the natives, and he accordingly made such a settlement with the Nabob as appeared reasonable.

1763.

President
visits the
Nabob.Differences on
account of the
inland trade.

The native officers belonging to the Nabob presumed upon these concessions, and greatly abused the authority with which they were invested, being guilty of such violence and oppression as to call for some restraining power. Various representations were made to the Nabob, and suggestions offered for the purpose of effecting an amicable arrangement: but he refused to accede

* Letter to Bengal, 13th May 1763.

1763.

BENGAL.

Deputation
appointed to
prevent a rup-
ture with the
Nabob.

Nabob seizes
some arms at
Patna.

Measures con-
templated in
event of a
rupture.

accede to any of the propositions, or to make satisfaction for the injury inflicted by his officers, complaints of which were received by the Council from all quarters. It was at last intimated to him by the Council, that a perseverance in refusing all redress would inevitably lead to an open rupture. To prevent, if possible, things coming to extremities, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, was sent to the Nabob, for the purpose of explaining more fully the various points in dispute. They set out from Moorshedabad on the 25th April, and reached Mongheer on the 12th May. The Nabob received them with the usual formalities; but their representations proved wholly unavailing. The Nabob demanded that our troops should be withdrawn from Patna to Mongheer, and he seized five hundred stand of arms, sent for their use, until his demand had been complied with.

These circumstances being made known to the Council at Calcutta, the majority determined upon a course of proceeding in case of a rupture, and sent orders to the Chief and Council at Patna, in such an event, to take possession of that city, provided they thought themselves strong enough, and if not, they were to take a secure position until supported by the arrival of troops; for which purpose, Major Adams would be ordered forthwith from Calcutta.

On the 11th June, the intelligence from the deputation

deputation at Patna left no room to doubt that hostilities would take place. On their delivering a letter from the President to the Nabob, representing the unlawfulness of seizing the arms, and that we could not withdraw our troops from Patna on the footing of a preliminary demand, the Nabob declared "there was war;" adding, that he knew Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, was his avowed enemy, and would employ the troops to the detriment of his affairs. Whatever might be charged to the Nabob's indisposition to come to terms of accommodation, it is clear that the opinion of the Court of Directors was strongly adverse to the conduct of Mr. Ellis and other servants, in the matter of the inland trade, as they were dismissed the service by orders from home when these circumstances became known.

On the 20th June, the several members of the Council submitted their views as to a future plan of government, should a revolution take place.

Intelligence was shortly received, that the deputation, passing the river by Moorshedabad, on their return to Calcutta, were fired upon by orders from the Nabob. Mr. Amyatt, who had been at the head of the deputation, was with many others killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Previously to this catastrophe, accounts had reached Mr. Ellis at Patna, that the Nabob was determined upon hostilities. That gentleman, in conjunction with Captain Carstairs, immediately planned

1763.
BENGAL.

Deputation
fired upon, by
Nabob's orders.

Attempt to
seize Patna, by
Mr. Ellis and
others, fails.

1763.

BENGAL.

planned an attack upon the Mogul guard, for the purpose of seizing the city. Early on the 25th June, they were in entire possession for four hours : but the project failed, through the sepoys having dispersed for the purpose of plundering. The Nabob's governor regained the city, the English were routed, and Mr. Ellis, Mr. Lushington, and many other gentlemen, taken prisoners. When the council at Calcutta were apprized of these events, they determined on deposing Meer Cossim. On the 7th July 1763, Jaffier Khan, who had been residing at Calcutta since the accession of his son-in-law, was proclaimed, and war declared against Cossim, who retired towards Mongheer.

Meer Cossim
deposed, and
Jaffier Ally
Khan again
raised to the
musnud.

Enemy de-
feated.

Meer Jaffier set out to join the army, after concluding a treaty on the 10th July, ratifying former privileges, and agreeing to maintain a given number of troops, & a resident from the Governor and Council was to reside with him, and a person on his part at Calcutta, to hold communication with the Governor and Council.* On the 19th July, Major Adams engaged the enemy, and took the fort of Cutwa. On the 2d August, a very severe battle took place near Sooty. The stand which the enemy made was "uncommon for native troops, having been engaged for nearly four hours." The siege of Rajmahal was commenced on the 29th August, and continued

* Printed treaties, page 32.

continued to the 5th September, when the assault took place with little loss, and the fort surrendered.

1763.

BENGAL.

Having exerted every endeavour to preserve the lives of the English gentlemen who were in the possession of Cossim, Major Adams offered the latter permission to retire from Mongheer to Rotas, whither he had moved his family and effects, if he would release his prisoners.

Offers to induce Cossim to spare the lives of the English, rejected.

The offer was of no avail: the army accordingly pushed on to Mongheer, which they took on the 11th October; and here they learned, that Meer Cossim had caused all the English to be murdered through the instrumentality of Sumroo, a renegade French soldier, and that Cossim had fled to Patna. Thither the English force hastened, and took it by storm on the 6th November.

During the operations against the Nabob, the king and Shuja Dowla advanced with their army within a day's march of Benares, and sent a detachment, under one of their principal officers, to that city. Shuja Dowla wrote to Jaffier Ally Khan and the President, and likewise to Major Adams, that he was coming with an intention of assisting our arms against Cossim. He received no encouragement to fulfil his intentions, being informed that our forces were more than sufficient to defeat all our enemies: and all that we desired was his securing Cossim, should he make his flight in that direction.

King and Shuja Dowla proffer aid to the Company's troops.

Mr. Vansittart addressed the Court regarding the hostilities

President's view of affairs.

1763.
BENGAL.

hostilities with the Nabob, before he had received the accounts of the massacre: "I have been disappointed in my hopes of the country's remaining in tranquillity, until your pleasure concerning the demands made by the Council upon the Nabob could be known.

"Mutual jealousies and suspicions had gained so much strength, that not a day passed, after Messrs. Amyatt and Hay had opened their commission to the Nabob, without some aggravation of the disputes. Mr. Ellis, whom I have never scrupled to call the head of the party which he formed the moment of his arrival in Bengal, and has carefully nourished ever since, had at this time a sure majority in the Council, and I endeavoured in vain to restrain the violence of their measures. Himself, by his station in Patna, had it daily in his power to create animosities between the Nabob's people and ours, and by his representations to the Board, of designs which I believe never existed, having got into his hands an authority to act as he pleased, in a very few days after he began the war by the attack of the city of Patna."

Mr. Vansittart took no part in the revolution. As long as he remained, he resolved to support Jaffier Khan in the government, with the same steadiness as he had Cossim; "for it was the station, and not the person," he regarded as connected with the Company's interests. He, nevertheless,

nevertheless, apprehended that the advanced age of the Nabob, his infirmities, and a habit of indolence, would prevent his taking the necessary measures for regulating the several branches of his government.

The President then offered various suggestions, which he thought calculated to place the inland trade upon a proper footing, and pointed out remedies for preventing a recurrence of the controversies that had arisen in the Council, "which had occasioned great detriment, expense, and loss of reputation."

By a subsequent letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated in December, it appeared the system was such, that it was with great difficulty a friendship could be maintained with any Nabob; that our connexions in the country were so extended by the pursuit of private-trade through a number of new channels, in distant parts of the country, and the authority of our agents was so overgrown by the influence they derived from the English name, that the Nabob's fouzders and collectors could not exercise the duties of their offices, where any English agent or gomastah, or any merchant or inhabitant of the country dealing with them, was concerned. These circumstances occasioned continual complaints from the Nabob, couched in terms similar to those which had been used by his predecessor, Meer Cossim.

1763.

BENGAL.

Defects of system which had led to these proceedings pointed out.

On

1763.
BENGAL.

On the other hand, if full powers were given to the Nabob's officers, nine out of ten abused it, totally obstructing the business of the English gomastahs. Thus the two governments were continually clashing.

"It was impossible for a friendship to subsist long; upon the whole, therefore (observed Mr Vansittart), I must give it as my opinion, that our connexions in this country are at present on a point where they cannot stand; *they are either too great or too little.*"

There was much truth in this observation. It was impossible for us to recede without abandoning the acquisitions we had already made: it was equally apparent, that we could not maintain the position we had taken without extending those acquisitions.

The same remark will be found to apply with increased force, as the causes are traced which led to the progressive enlargement of our Indian possessions, until they reached the limits, forming the natural boundaries of that vast empire, which, by a series of extraordinary events, is now subjected to the British rule.

Meer Cossim
seeks refuge
with Shuja
Dowla.

Meer Cossim, unable to make any further stand against our troops, fled into the territories of Shuja Dowla. The Vizier, notwithstanding his profession of aid, and the expectation of the Council that he would have made Cossim prisoner, suffered him to proceed without interruption through

through Benares and Allahabad, to the banks of the Jumna, where the king and vizier were encamped, by whom he was favourably received. The Directors expressed their earnest desire that Mr. Vansittart, who had intimated his intention to quit the presidency, should continue until peace was established, as they reposed the most perfect confidence in his ability, discretion, and attention. They also pointed out the impressions which weighed with them in taking a favourable view of the conduct of Cossim, and of those which were adverse to Meer Jaffier, whose incapacity, cruelty, and perfidy, had been so fully experienced. "There is, besides, an obvious impropriety in setting up, pulling down, and again restoring, the same man, which cannot fail to be represented to the disadvantage of the Company."*

1763.
BENGAL.

Shuja Dowla, being desirous of entering into an engagement with the Company, was informed that no treaty or alliance of friendship would be entered into with him, until Meer Cossim was delivered up, or brought to justice for his cruelty. The king and the vizier, manifested determined hostility towards the English. In March, they moved with considerable bodies of horse and foot to Benares, crossed the Ganges, and marched to the Caramnassa. Major Carnac, who had advanced to the banks of the Soane, not hav-

King and Shuja
Dowla hostile
to English.

1764.

ing

* Court's Letter to Bengal, February 1764.

1763.
BENGAL.

ing a sufficient force of cavalry, fell back upon Patna, to secure supplies. The enemy, encouraged by this movement, advanced from the Soane on the 3d May, and, in different bodies, attacked our army from nine in the morning till near sunset; but, finding themselves repulsed in every quarter, they drew off. On the 23d, Shuja Dowla re-crossed the Soane.

Major Munro
takes the field.

A reinforcement, consisting of his Majesty's 89th regiment, arrived from Bombay in June, under Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro. That officer, in virtue of his rank in the King's service, became commander-in-chief of the army in Bengal. He immediately prepared to take the field. The enemy made various overtures; but none that could be relied upon; nor could the Council treat for peace without running the risk of encouraging Shuja Dowla in his hostile intentions, by giving him too high an opinion of his own strength. The government, therefore, continued to insist upon his retiring out of the limits of the provinces, and delivering up Sumroo, who was the executioner of the massacre at Patna, hoping that, by forcing him to accède to such terms, the superiority of the Company's arms would be sufficiently established, to deter the other chiefs of Hindostan from any attempt to invade our territories.

Mr. Vansittart quitted Calcutta in November 1764, being succeeded by Mr. Spencer.

The king, Shah Alum, although he had accompanied Shuja Dowla in his expedition in May, professed his disapprobation of the measure. When the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, came down to Calcutta, in the month of September, he had with him Shatab Roy, who was formerly employed in negotiations between the Council and the king, then the Shazada. Shatab Roy brought letters from the king and Shuja Dowla, expressive of a desire to enter into a friendly negotiation. The Council felt that no reliance was to be placed on the sincerity of the vizier, who entirely ruled the king; they therefore determined that Major Munro should pursue the most vigorous measures, and attack the enemy the first opportunity.

1764.

BENGAL.

Overtures from
the king and
vizier rejected.

It must here be remarked, in justice to Munro, that the army, which he found in a state of mutiny on his arrival in June, had, by his determined and vigilant conduct, been brought back to a comparative state of discipline; but not until a battalion of sepoys, who had marched off with their arms, were secured, twenty-seven of whom were tried by a court-martial and executed, according to their sentence, the battalion being broke with infamy.*

After

* This mutinous spirit was traced to the revolt which had occurred on the 11th February, and had been occasioned by the erroneous impression that there was an intention of stopping the donation promised by the Nabob. It was attributed to a body of Frenchmen, consisting of 150, who had entered the Company's army.

1764.

BENGAL.

Vizier defeated
and flees to
Allahabad.

After great exertions, the army crossed the Ganges above the Soane, and took post on the bank of that river, from whence it marched towards the enemy, who remained with their whole force at Buxar. A general engagement took place on the 23d of October. Our troops gained a most complete and decisive victory. Six thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon being captured.

Shuja Dowla fled towards Allahabad. The king and Beny Bahadre, the principal officer of Shuja Dowla, were at Benares; they made overtures to know what terms would be accepted. They were informed, "the delivery of Sumroo, and the retention by us of the country as far as Benares, to defray the charge of the war." This cession was required, to convince all the native powers of the success of our arms in a war unjustly commenced against us, more than for any revenue which it might yield. "We do not," observed the Council, "wish to extend our connexions beyond what may appear necessary for securing the future tranquillity of these provinces, which is the first object of our consideration."

Terms offered
to Shuja Dowla
rejected by him.

The proffered terms were rejected by Shuja Dowla.

The king joins
Major Munro's
army.

The king, who had been kept in a state of bondage by the vizier, being once more master of his actions, joined the army under Major Munro, who

who entered upon a negotiation, according to instructions from the Council at Calcutta, with his Majesty, as to the charge of the war and the cession of the country as far as Benares, which was to have been made by the vizier Shuja Dowla. A phirmaund was executed by the king, on the 29th December 1764, assigning the country of Ghazeepore and the rest of the zemindarry of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, the Company engaging to put the king in possession of Allahabad and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of Shuja Dowla.* Munro proceeded towards Allahabad, but failed in reducing that fortress through the ill-conduct of the sepoy, who were seized with a sudden panic, and fell back at the assault.

1764.
BENGAL.

Treaty with
the king,
Shah Alum.

The vizier attempted to get into his rear, for the purpose of cutting off communication with his boats and carrying off the king. The attempt was unsuccessful. Munro converted the siege into a blockade, and returned with the remainder of the troops to Benares.

Operations of
the vizier.

The vizier, after this movement, having advanced towards Munro, the latter withdrew the troops before Allahabad, in the hope of bringing the vizier to action. In this he was disappointed; the two armies remained nearly stationary from December till 1764 February in the following year.†

During

* Printed Treaties, page 37.

† Major Munro returned; at this period, with part of his regiment to England. The President and Council, on the occasion

1765.
BENGAL.

During this interval, Sir Robert Fletcher succeeded to the command. An engagement shortly followed. Allahabad and Chunagur surrendered on the 11th February, when Shuja Dowla continued his retreat towards Lucknow. His affairs were in great disorder, and his people disaffected; but he made no further overtures. The Council determined to pursue their view of expelling him, and putting the king in possession of the country.

Death of Nabob
Jaffier Ally
Khan, and
succession of
Nazim-ood-
Dowla.

Jaffier Ally Khan died on the 5th February, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Nazim-ood-Dowla, then only sixteen years of age. The conduct of his affairs was, at the instance of the Council at Calcutta, confided to Mahommed Reza Khan, the Nabob of Dacca, Nazim-ood-Dowla being apprized that he held the government by the influence and authority of the Company.

The views of the president, Mr. Spencer, and his Council, being directed to the establishment of the Company's authority as paramount to every other, the Nabob was discharged from maintaining any troops for the protection of the provinces, those of the Company being substituted: he was ² ~~to make no application for sunnuds but through the President and Council; nor to engage any~~ European

of his departure, strongly recommended to the Court of Directors to procure for his eminent services some special mark of his Sovereign's favour.

European in his service, and was to dismiss any who might be with him. It was observed, that as Meer Jaffier had been appointed and raised to the soubahdarry by the Company's forces, and had been supported in it by their influence alone, the Council could not allow that any right of succession or the nomination could rest with him or his family, till their acquiescence and confirmation had been obtained. The same force that was employed to raise the father, was to be called forth to support the son. "If," observed the Council, "this does not give us some right to a nomination, thrice already assumed, we know not what can." The native government had been almost subverted. Different parties adhered to a different sovereign, though all joined in oppressing the man whom the Council considered as such; and they naturally ask, "shall we, who have lost so many lives in support of privileges heretofore held by grants from Delhi, but held only by our arms, yield up our authority in Bengal, and sacrifice, at once, all we have been contending for?" To admit the king's right of confirming, while we support a man by force in the Nizamut, would be the grossest absurdity. If we look, we shall find they have been forcibly obtained. The oppression and violence of the Government in 1756, forced us into a share of their affairs, very contrary to our inclination; and as we alone, whatever glossing

1765.
BENGAL.

1765.
BENGAL.

we may put upon it, support the present government in the family against the king's inclination, having been in arms against the king himself in support of it, we consider that we have as good a right to take as large a share as will answer our principal ends, 'security to our trade and possessions,' as any other people; who are as much usurpers as we: and there is no doubt we have more influence to obtain the sunnuds, if we choose, than any other people whatever."*

The king, in virtue of the treaty of December, had gone to reside at Allahabad. The Council, after taking steps to put him in possession of Shuja Dowla's country, and making such arrangements as would enable him to maintain himself without further aid, determined to withdraw to the frontier of the Company's provinces.

The war with Shuja Dowla had been one not of choice, but of necessity. It was wished to have retained him as a barrier between the Company and the other powers, even after the battle of Buxar; but, as he continued obstinate, the only alternative was to set the authority of the king against him, in order to convince the empire at large, that the Council were determined not to destroy the Mussulman power, as had been artfully insinuated. In all their proceedings, the Council did not lose sight of the reluctance expressed by

* Secret Consultations, 20th February 1768.

by the Court of Directors to new expeditions or distant acquisitions.”*

1765.

BENGAL.

Shuja Dowla had retired from Lucknow, and left the province of Oude to seek refuge and aid amongst the Rohillas.

ON THE COAST OF COROMANDEL, the siege of Fort St. George by the French was raised in February 1759, by the appearance of the English fleet off Madras and the force under Major Brereton. Masulipatam was taken by Major Forde; but the attempt against the French settlement of Pondicherry was unsuccessful, and M. Lally laid siege to Trichinopoly. His progress was, however, checked by the operations of Colonel Coote, who invested and took Wandewash. M. Lally, alive to the importance of Wandewash, made every effort to recover it. A long and obstinate engagement took place, in which the French were completely defeated, General Bussy and many other officers being made prisoners by Colonel Coote, who followed up his victory by the captures of Chittaput and Arcot.

1759.

MADRAS and
CARNATIC.

During these operations on shore, Admiral Pocock defeated the fleet of M. D'Ache, although greatly superior in ships and guns. The engagement was extremely severe, eight of the English ships

* Vide letter from Mr. Spencer to the Court, 14th March, 1765.

1760.
MADRAS.

ships having at one period withstood the fire of the whole of the French fleet, consisting of sixteen ships. The arrival of Admiral Cornish, who joined Admiral Pocock, gave the English a decided superiority in the Indian seas.

Various forts
captured.

The army, after the surrender of Arcot, moved towards Pondicherry, to cut off supplies, while Admiral Cornish blockaded it by sea. The district of Trincomalee was reduced by Captain Smith. On the 5th March, Permacoil surrendered to Colonel Coote, Carrical to Colonel Monson and Admiral Cornish on the 5th April, and Chellumbrum to Colonel Monson on the 12th. On the same day, Colonel Coote took Waldour, where the camp was formed previously to operations against Pondicherry; for which purpose, a large supply of gunpowder had been sent from Bengal and Bombay, accompanied by three companies of the king's artillery from the latter presidency. The Mahrattas had gained a considerable victory over Salabat Jung, who ceded to them districts of the value of sixty lacs of rupees, and the fort of Dowlatabad, at that time the strongest in the country. M. Bussy and other French prisoners on parole, at Pondicherry, were ordered to Madras, as several of them had borne arms by order of M. Lally. Considerable apprehension being entertained that the Mahrattas would enter the province and demand the *chout*, and, if joined by the Mysoreans and the French, that they would

Measures to
promote the
siege of Pondi-
cherry.

would impede the designs against Pondicherry, a member of the Council was deputed, for the purpose of inducing them to refrain from advancing towards the Carnatic. In the month of September, the President, Governor Pigot, accompanied by Colonel Coote, visited Admiral Steevens on board the *Norfolk*, and, after much solicitation, obtained his consent to the marines of the squadron being landed, to aid the troops in preventing supplies being thrown into Pondicherry. During the preparation for attacking Ariancopang, orders were received from Bengal for divesting Colonel Coote of the command, and placing it in the hands of Colonel Monson. The latter officer, in an attack on the enemy's outposts, having had both the bones of his leg broken by a shot, recommended that Colonel Coote should again receive the command. It was some days, however, before Coote would consent to return to the camp, having made preparations to proceed to Bengal. The French blew up Ariancopang, and retreated to Pondicherry. The marines being re-embarked by the desire of Admiral Steevens, he sailed in October with the greater part of his fleet to Trincomalee, leaving five of his ships to prevent the enemy affording aid by sea.

1760.
MADRAS.

Colonel Monson wounded. Colonel Coote resumes command.

Ariancopang evacuated by the French.

The king (as he was then styled) of Mysore having supported the French, a diversion was made into his country, and the fort of Caroor taken by Captain Smith. It was supposed to have been
the

1760.

MADRAS.

the first instance of any European troops having advanced so far west inland. The king subsequently addressed letters of friendship to the President and to the Nabob of the Carnatic, stating that it was his prime minister, Hyder Naigue, who had rebelled against him and sent his troops to assist the French. It appears to be the first mention of Hyder, who became so formidable an enemy to the Company, both in his own person and that of his adopted successor.

Hyder Naigue.

1761.

Pondicherry
surrenders.

The President, Mr. Pigot, having received an invitation from Colonel Coote, who thought his presence might be necessary in the event of the reduction of Pondicherry, proceeded in the ship Lord Mansfield, on the 7th January, and joined the army on the 9th. On the 10th, a battery was opened against the north-west bastion of the town : on the 13th, another within five hundred yards of the walls. On the 15th, deputies came to Colonel Coote, with offers to surrender the place : on the 17th, the fort and citadel were delivered up, and the English colours hoisted. The siege lasted eight months, during which the garrison suffered great distress. The Nabob had presented ten lacs of rupees to the Mahrattas, to prevent their entering the Carnatic during the operations. They suffered a severe defeat in a general engagement with the Patans, which checked their growing power—a power, it was observed, that would have spread through the country, “ considering the
“ progress

Patans defeat
the Mahrattas.

“ progress they had made of late years.”* In the month of February, Hyder was in open rebellion against his master, the king of Mysore.

1761.

MADRAS.

Hyder in rebellion against the king of Mysore.

Colonel Coote was to return to Bengal in March, Colonel Monson being sufficiently recovered to assume the command until General Lawrence arrived from England as commander-in-chief. In October, the Council stated that Salabat Jung and the other contending parties had solicited assistance, offering phirmaunds, which they declined ; adding, “ we are not desirous of grasping at more than can be held.” Vellore surrendered to the Nabob on the 26th December.

In April, various refractory Polygars were reduced, and the Council mediated between the Nabob and the king of Mysore for a settlement of the former's demand. An expedition against Manilla sailed on the 29th July from Madras.

1762.

Expedition to Manilla.

In September, the Council advised the Court of intelligence received from Bengal, as to the measures then in progress against Cossim Ally Khan, and stated : “ Private advices place it to too much violence on both sides.” Governor Pigot returned to England in the month of November, when Mr. Drake succeeded to the chair.

1763.

The treaty of peace with France having reached the Council, they observed, that the French could only maintain troops by obtaining grants of country,

1764.

Peace with France.

* Letter from Madras, March 1761.

1763.

MADRAS.

try, and this they might easily do from the Nizam, as the treaty did not preclude it.

Mr. Palke succeeded, under the Court's appointment, as governor, on the 4th May.

Madura surrenders.

In October, the fort of Madura, situated amidst the refractory Polygars, and against which operations had been commenced in the early part of the year, surrendered to Major Campbell.

1765.

Northern Circars.

The acquisition of the Northern Circars had become an object of considerable importance. The Council, apprehensive that, if the Company obtained possession, it might embroil either the Bengal government or themselves with the Mahrattas, proposed to rent them of the Nizam, in order to secure them from falling into the hands of the French, as M. Law, formerly so conspicuous a party in Bengal, had reached India under the treaty of peace, and proceeded to Pondicherry. Various disputes arose as to the rights of the French under the treaty, and the Council dwelt strongly upon the desire M. Law had manifested to acquire all the privileges which he contended the treaty secured to them.

Aid proposed to Hussain Ally in Northern Circars.

The Nizam wished that assistance should be given to Hussain Ally, to whom he had granted sunnuds for the Northern Circars to enable him to reduce them to subjection. "As the Carnatic appeared to be secure, except from the junction of the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally, and Hyder, and that with some European power," which the Council

Council considered very unlikely, they agreed to assist Hussain Ally. Shortly after the troops for this purpose were in motion, intelligence was received that the Nizam had advanced in force to make demands on the Nabob. The troops were recalled to oppose him, should he advance beyond Cuddapah. In the month of March, he slowly approached the hills near Tripetty, with 4,000 horse and 10,000 sepoys ; but when he ascertained the force that would be opposed to him, he retired, and sent a friendly letter to the President, with a present of an elephant. The troops accordingly proceeded, in fulfilment of the original determination, to aid Hussain Ally.

SINCE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PIRATES at Gheria, by the forces under Commodore James and Colonel Clive in 1756, the Council at Bombay had been principally engaged in prosecuting the Company's commercial affairs at Gombroon, and in the Persian Gulf ; also through Bussorah with Persia, and in Canara and Malabar. In February, 1760, they sent a deputation to Poonah, under an impression that the Mahrattas were treating with the French. NANNAH, the head of the Mahrattas, disavowed any such intention. He died in the month of June, 1761, when it was believed that the Brahmin interest, which had given great disgust to the people in general, would cease. Mr. Whitehill was deputed to Poonah

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BOMBAY.

Mahrattas.

1761.

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BOMBAY.

Poonah, to condole with Mhaderao on the death of his father, whose widow had retired to the hills, with all her family and effects. Mhaderao sought aid from the Company against the Nizam; but the Council declined to interfere, further than to preserve him from ruin, and to effect an accommodation with the Nizam.

The Bengal government were of opinion, that the state of affairs consequent upon the death of Nannah, presented a favourable moment for a general attack against the Mahratta power, as the presence of some of their bodies, on the borders of the Company's provinces in Bengal, had been productive of much expense and annoyance. The Council at Bombay pointed out that the Mahrattas on the frontiers of Bengal acted independently of those at Poonah; and although they felt the importance of reducing their power, yet, in their opinion, the period was not arrived when the attempt could be made with any prospect of success. Ragobah had taken upon himself the principal direction of the affairs at Poonah, since the death of Nannah, and there was reason to believe that he had proceeded to join the Nizam. The government determined, therefore, to avoid all interference with their affairs as much as possible.

1763.
Rise of Hyder
Ally.

In May, 1763, HYDER ALLY, or HYDER NAIGUE,* began to attract attention. He had already

* Vide page 104

already taken Bednore and advanced into Canara. Mangalore submitted to him, and afterwards Onore. His object was to bring the whole of the forts on the sea-coast into subjection ; at the same time professing an anxious desire to keep on good terms with the Company, permitting them, under treaty of the 27th May, to erect a factory at Onore and to enjoy various privileges of trade.* He made an application to the Council for a supply of 7,000 stand of arms ; they acceded only to the extent of 500 stand, apprehensive that a complete refusal might create a misunderstanding.

1763.
BOMBAY.

In March of this year, they permitted him to purchase some cannon, and to build a fighting vessel at Bombay, under the impression that he might check the Mahrattas and other freebooters on the coast. The Mahrattas, fearing his power, abstained from any movement. The Council remarked, that Hyder promised to become a very formidable enemy, unless he should be cut off, which his enterprizing spirit rendered very probable, as his projects for extending his authority had caused him many enemies. His successes having deprived the Mahrattas of the *chout* in part of the Bednore country, they attacked him, and gained advantages over him in various engagements. He applied to the Nizam, and also to the Council at Bombay, for succour. The latter declined taking

1764.

any

* Printed Treaties, page 518.

1704.
BOMBAY,

any part, unless satisfied that their interference was essential to promote the Company's interests.

In November, Hyder was so pressed by the Mahrattas, then within five miles of his camp, that he applied for aid to the Company's agent at Tellicherry, expressing, at the same time, his intention of making the whole of the Malabar powers tributary. The chief at Tellicherry expostulated with him against such an attempt, representing that, the Company being on terms of friendship with most of the native powers on the coast, they could not remain neuter, unless he guaranteed full security for the Company's interests. In December, he made application, through the agent at Onore, for aid, both for himself and the Nizam, in troops, stores, and guns, agreeing to defray every charge, and to grant the Company all the pepper trade on the coast. The Council, feeling it equally important to avoid giving umbrage to the Mahrattas, and to prevent their subduing the Bednore and Soondah countries, resolved to supply Hyder with four hundred stand of arms and one hundred barrels of gunpowder. The Directors disapproved of the disposition manifested to support Hyder, and remarked, that a man of his aspiring genius, supposing him to continue for any time, is more likely to become a formidable enemy than a friend.

Letter to
Bombay
22 March 1765.

Notwithstanding all these striking circumstances, you have added to your mismanagement by supplying him with
arms

arms, buying cannon for him, and allowing him to build ships at Bombay.

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BOMBAY.

These transactions render it extremely necessary that we should be informed of the history of Hyder Naigue, or Hyder Ally Cawn, in which your advices hitherto have been very deficient; you are, therefore, hereby directed to send us, by the first conveyances, an account of his rise, what particular countries he possesses, by what means he is become so powerful, his genius and character, and every other material circumstance necessary for our information.

In the foregoing part of this letter, we forbade your supplying any of the country powers with muskets, which we again, and positively, direct be strictly adhered to, unless to the king of Travancore, for the reasons there mentioned.

Cannon we absolutely forbid you supplying any one of the country powers with; and should not have thought there ever would have been a necessity for this, it appearing so remarkably inconsistent with our interest and policy.

We also positively forbid your supplying the country powers with any other warlike stores whatsoever, or by whatever name they are distinguished (the king of Travancore excepted, as observed in other parts of this letter); and we do the same with respect to all kinds of marine stores, unless upon very extraordinary occasions, and for which we shall expect you to give us, in the fullest and most explicit manner, your reasons for the necessity of any compliance.

With regard to building ships at Bombay for any of these people, it can never be for our interest, whatever it may for individuals, and, consequently, we positively forbid its being done in future.

In January, an expedition was undertaken for the purpose of subduing the Malwan pirates, when
the

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BOMBAY.

the fort of Raree, in the Southern Concan, was captured.

Hyder pressed
by Mahrattas.

The Mahrattas having driven Hyder to great extremities, the Council at Bombay felt that the whole of the Company's privileges on the coast might fall a sacrifice, in the event of their further progress. The resident accordingly addressed a letter to Mhaderao and Ragobah, pointing out the privileges granted by Hyder to the Company, and stating that they could not sit down tame spectators, and see him deprived of the means of continuing them. It was proposed that the Council should use their best offices to mediate between them and Hyder. The proposition was accepted, and terms were agreed to,* which ended in a peace, leaving Hyder in possession of the provinces of Bednore and Soondah.

Hyder extends
his conquests.

This arrangement had scarcely been concluded, when Hyder effected the reduction of the greater part of the country on the coast. He then directed his course towards Calicut, which having captured, he entered the Colastria dominions with 30,000 men, under the pretence of collecting two lacs of pagodas, stated to be due to the Bednore government, and attempted to pass the king of Cotiote's country. The spirit of aggrandizement which he manifested, led the Council to direct their agent at Onore to withhold from him all further supply of

* The 25th April 1765.

of fire-arms. In May, the Council were apprised that the king of Travancore had applied for aid to the Dutch, in case Hyder should invade his territory; but that his chief reliance was on the Company, to whom he was prepared to transfer the 3,000 candies of pepper, at the same price at which it was taken at by the Dutch, provided the Company would supply him with warlike stores, and defend his kingdom, he defraying the expense of such aid.

BOMBAY.

The depredations of Hyder were extensive and indiscriminate. At Rhandeterra, the Moors struck and destroyed the English colours, which were flying there. Ally Rajah appearing to be active in these operations, a detachment was sent against him. Hyder disavowed all intention of acting hostilely towards the Company: his declaration appeared deserving of credit, from the fact that, at the moment of his operations against the several petty native states, he sent his only ship of war to Bombay, to refit, which it was not likely he would have done, had he been in a state of hostility with the English. The Council took measures for opposing him, in the event of his attacking the Company's property; and, in the month of April, advised the Madras Presidency of the whole of their proceedings and future intentions, requesting them to co-operate, should circumstances lead to a rupture.

The Council at Madras were anxious that every
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Council at
Madras de-

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sious to main-
tain peace with
Hyder.

Plans should be adopted to avert a collision with Hyder. They were apprehensive, if hostilities took place, that the whole of the country would be involved; and as he had the command of all the passes leading into the Nabob's country, he might, with ease, send his cavalry forward, and do great mischief, before effectual measures could be taken against him. They likewise considered that he presented an important check to the power of the Mahrattas.* Another reason which induced them to urge the maintenance of a good understanding was, the grant to the Company of the circars by the Mogul. Nizam Ally was indisposed to admit the Company's authority; and, should he join with Hyder, the Council felt that it would present a serious obstacle to the Company's establishing their power in those countries.

In consequence of these representations, the President at Bombay addressed a letter to Hyder, on the 11th July, adverting to the friendship and regard which he professed for the Company, and pointing out how totally inconsistent his whole course of conduct was with such a feeling. In order to place his relations towards the Company on a clear footing, the President transmitted fourteen articles, as the basis for a treaty of peace and firm friendship to be agreed to by him. The first declared, that "there shall be peace and friendship

* Consultations, June 1766.

friendship for ever ;”—the second, that the said Nabob has lately conquered the sea-coast from Cape Ramo north, to Penany south, &c. ; the Nabob to repay the Company what was owing to them by the Rajahs of the countries of which he had taken possession ; facilities of trade to be secured ; pepper to be supplied ; and provision made that he should not form a treaty with any European power, contrary to the interests of the Company ; nor was he to attack any power in alliance with them, more particularly the Nabob of Arcot. He was to send a list of articles he wished to be supplied with.

The answer from Hyder was dated the 28th September, and received on the 9th November at Bombay. The articles were completely altered by him ; the first commencing, “ *Thanks be to God, I have subdued the coast of Malabar from the Cape of Ramo to Penany.* Since there is so firm a friendship between the Honourable Company and this state, how can my people join with the Honourable Company’s enemies ? As there is a fair friendship between the Honourable Company and this Circar, they shall always receive more compliments than others.” The thirteenth article provided that, whenever the Honourable Company might want troops, he would furnish them with ten or fifteen thousand ; and, on the contrary, they were to furnish him, when his enemies rendered it necessary. He was to have

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annually, from the Company, a supply of three or four thousand muskets.

The following is an extract from Hyder's letter to the President:—"I have received your honour's esteemed letter; thanks be to God, there is no separation or difference between your honour, the Honourable Company, and the Circar, and it is my desire that our friendships may be firm, and increase daily more and more. Mahomed Ally Cawn, of Arcot, has also an intention, through the persuasion of low people, to have some disputes with me: but I also take no notice of it, out of regard to your honour. Ally Rajah, although a well-wisher of your Honourable Company, the Nairs preserve a great enmity with, and consequently inform the chief of Tellicherry many things against him, which unjustly occasion him to be disgusted with him. I have also, in consequence of your letter, sent the articles I am in want of, and desire your honour will order it to be drawn out accordingly, and sent to me under your seal. I am now in want of the muskets, and, therefore, desire your honour will order to permit me annually to purchase from the Honourable Company three or four thousand new English muskets, and what gunpowder I may want. I am very glad to observe the offer made me of the Honourable Company's assistance, which is consistent with our friendship."

Character of
Hyder.

The Council at Bombay, in accordance with the
desire

desire expressed by the Court of Directors, sent home an account of the rise, connexions, and situation of Hyder. This paper appears to have been mislaid. Colonel Wilks, in his 'Historical Sketches of the South of India,' gives an account of Hyder, of whom he speaks in the following terms :

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“ An unknown volunteer in this obscure service (the reduction of Bangalore to the house of Mysore) was destined in after-times to become the head of a mighty empire ; to establish a reputation in arms, which, fairly viewing the scene on which he moved, and the instruments he was able to employ, has seldom been exceeded, and to threaten, with no ideal terrors, the extinction of the British power in India.”

This statement accords with a paper in the possession of the late Colonel Mackenzie, the surveyor-general of Bengal, which represented Hyder to have been the son of Futty Naik, a soldier in the service of the Nabob of Sirpy, in the year 1728, who fell at the same time with his master in an action with a Patan chief, named Rei Mohomed, sent by Nizam ul Mulk, then soubhadar of the Deccan, against the Nabob. Hyder Naik was then about ten years old. He became a party in the hostilities which arose out of the contentions in 1750 for the Nabobship of the Carnatic, where he commanded a considerable body of troops raised through his own means.

In

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In 1754 he appears to have been engaged against the Poligars near Trichinopoly, and for his services received a considerable present from the rajah. In 1760 he recovered Bangalore from a Mahratta force which blockaded it, in the expectation that it might be added to the possessions already acquired by them in the country of Mysore.

CHAPTER IV.

THE state of affairs in India, as announced to the Home Authorities at the commencement of 1764, led to the appointment of Lord Clive* as president and commander-in-chief, which measure was communicated to the Council of Bengal in the following terms:—"The General Court of Proprietors having, on account of the critical situation of the Company's affairs in Bengal, requested Lord Clive to take upon him the station of president, and the command of the Company's military forces there, his Lordship has been appointed president and governor accordingly, as mentioned in the preceding part of this letter. The intention of the General Court, in desiring Lord Clive to go to Bengal, was, that by his Lordship's character and influence, peace and tranquillity might be the easier restored and established in that subahship. In order, therefore, to answer these purposes in a manner that we apprehend may prove most effectual, we have thought proper to

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Lord Clive appointed president and commander-in-chief.

* Colonel Clive had been raised to the peerage in March 1762, by the title of Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, in Ireland.

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to appoint a committee on this occasion, consisting of his Lordship, Mr. W. B. Sumner, Brigadier-general Carnac, also Messrs. Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, to whom we do hereby give full powers to pursue whatever means they shall judge most proper to attain those desirable ends ; but, however, in all cases where it can be done conveniently, the Council at large is to be consulted by the said Committee, though the power of determining is to be in that Committee alone. We further direct, that, as soon as peace and tranquillity are restored and established in the subahship of Bengal, then the said extraordinary powers are immediately to cease, and the said Committee be dissolved.”*

The proceedings which led to the nomination of Lord Clive as president and commander-in-chief, in 1764, are calculated to throw light upon points that gave to his Lordship’s character an appearance of pertinacity, which the facts will tend in a great measure to explain. Considerable misapprehension also appears to have existed as to the conduct and motives of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors at that time.

In the early part of January 1764, the Court of Directors had resolved to remove Mr. Amyatt and others from the Company’s service, in consequence of the unjustifiable course they had pursued towards
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* Letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal, the 1st June 1764.

the Nabob, in the conduct of the internal trade. They had also appointed Mr. Vansittart president and governor, and Mr. Spencer, who was the seventh in council at Bombay, second member of the council at Calcutta, and successor to Mr. Vansittart. On the 4th February, nearly three weeks subsequent to those appointments, advices were received by the *Lapwing* from Madras, dated 3d September, 1763, which conveyed the first intelligence of an actual rupture with Meer Cossim, the death of Mr. Amyatt at Moorshedabad, and the failure of Mr. Ellis in his attempt to gain possession of the city of Patna. The latter gentleman would have been removed from the service, by the Court's orders of May 1763, which orders had not been received in Bengal when the above-mentioned occurrence took place.

The attention of the Proprietors and the public was drawn to those advices, their substance being stated in an anonymous advertisement, issued on the 8th February, and published in the papers by order of the Chairman. A special General Court was called on the 27th February, at the requisition of nine proprietors, for the purpose of considering the state of affairs in India. They met again on the 29th February, and on the 1st and 12th March. At these several Courts, all the proceedings touching the various revolutions in India,
down

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down to the last elevation of Meer Jaffier, including the despatch of the 3d September, were read. It was then moved, to refer back the appointment of Mr. Spencer for the reconsideration of the Court of Directors: but the General Court adjourned without coming to any decision on the question. On the 12th March, another Special Court was held, at the requisition of nine proprietors, at which it was resolved, “that it is the desire of the General Court, that Lord Clive be requested to take upon him the station of president of Bengal, and the command of the Company’s military forces there.”

His Lordship, who was present, intimated, “that if the Court of Directors were as well disposed towards him as he was towards them, he should have no objection to the service; but till he found such a disposition, he desired to be excused from coming to any resolution.” A letter was addressed to Lord Clive from the Court of Directors, on the 16th March, transmitting a copy of the General Court’s resolution, and acquainting him that they were *unanimous* in assuring him, that they would most cheerfully concur in taking the steps necessary to carry the resolution of the General Court into effect, and in preparing every convenience for his passage. His Lordship’s reply to the official communication, through the Secretary, was dated the 17th. “I have received your letter enclosing a copy of the resolution of
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the last General Court. I must desire you will return the Directors my thanks, for their offers of preparing every convenience for my passage."

The letters were communicated to a General Court on the 21st March, when the Proprietors desired to know from Lord Clive, who was present, whether he was disposed to declare his immediate acceptance of the stations. His Lordship replied, that "he would give his answer as soon as the next election of Directors should be determined." A motion was then made, "that, Lord Clive declining to accept immediately the service proposed to him by the General Court, the Court of Directors be desired to make the proper arrangements, in the present critical situation of the Company's affairs." After a debate thereon, it appeared to be the sense of the Court, that every objection Lord Clive might have to his acceptance of the Company's service should be removed. His Lordship having declared that "he could not accept the service if the Deputy Chairman remained in the lead of the Direction," that gentleman repeatedly expressed the greatest inclination to co-operate, in the most honourable and friendly manner. Lord Clive then signified that he would declare his final resolution in a few days, which he was desirous of being indulged with. On the 28th March, his Lordship addressed the following letter to the Court of Directors :—

"Gentlemen :—It was agreed at the last General

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ral Court of Proprietors, that I should have a few days to consider and determine concerning the terms upon which I would accept of the request of the preceding Court of Proprietors, to take upon me the direction of their affairs in Bengal.

“Although I thought I had sufficiently explained myself on that head at the time the proposal was made, yet, as there seemed to be a disposition in many of the gentlemen of the Court for whom I have the highest respect, that a reconciliation should take place between Mr. Sullivan and me, so that this gentleman might still conduct the affairs at home, and that I might nevertheless venture, without fear of my reputation, abroad, I thought the respect which was due to those Proprietors, the duty I owe to myself, and the regard I shall ever feel for the interest of the Company, all called upon me, in the strongest manner, once more to revolve in my mind the possibility of such an union, consistent with the services I would endeavour to render the Company, and consistent with that attention which is due to my own honour.

“This I have endeavoured to do in the coolest and most dispassionate manner, after laying aside every prejudice, and judging only from the constant experience of things.

“Upon the whole, I still continue to be of opinion, that, in case the Proprietors think it for their advantage that Mr. Sullivan should remain

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at the head of the Direction (or, as he was pleased to term it himself, should continue him in the lead of their affairs), I cannot accept their service: but in case the Proprietors should not think it necessary to continue Mr. Sullivan in such authority, I am willing and ready to accept their service, even supposing the next advices should pronounce their affairs in Bengal to be in as desperate a condition as ever they were in the time of Suraja Dowla.

“Should a Direction be settled with whom I can *possibly* co-operate, every thing will be easily adjusted, since I have no interested views in going abroad.

“At the same time, I never desired, or even wished, to name a Direction, as some industriously spread abroad; I only object to one man having the lead in the Company’s affairs, in whom I have so often and publicly declared I never can place any confidence, and who, in my opinion, has acted, and does continue to act, upon principles diametrically opposite to the true interest of the East-India Company.

“I have the honour to be, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) “CLIVE.”

“Berkeley Square,
March 28th, 1764.”

No answer was returned to his Lordship’s letter. The annual election took place on the 12th April ;

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April; new Chairs being chosen on the 13th, Mr. Sullivan returned into the body of the Court. On the 18th, a letter was addressed to Lord Clive from the Court, through their Secretary, desiring his Lordship to signify his determination as to proceeding to India, and that he would favour the Chairs with a conference on the following morning. In consequence of such communication, Lord Clive repaired to the India House on the 19th, and being desirous of explaining himself to the Court, he was introduced. After acknowledging that he felt bound in honour to accept the invitation of the General Court, he declared that he had no interested views therein, but that his sole object was that of serving the Company. He expressed his sentiments generally as to the political, commercial, and military affairs of the Company, he stated that he could not proceed if Mr. Spencer continued in Bengal, as such measure would be the occasion of several of the Council resigning the service; and that he also apprehended there would be great impropriety in his proceeding to India whilst the law-suit relating to his jaghire was depending.

On the 27th, his Lordship having stated that he should be ready to take upon himself the government, although his offer as to the jaghire should not be agreed to; addressed the Court at considerable length, submitting various suggestions, which he conceived would tend to promote the
Company's

Company's interests. The Court of Directors on that day rescinded the nomination of Mr. Spencer as second in council, and re-appointed him to Bombay.

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On the 30th April, Lord Clive was sworn in as president of Fort William and commander-in-chief of the Company's forces there. On the 5th May, the General Court resolved to grant to his Lordship the proceeds of the jaghire for ten years; it was also resolved that covenants should be entered into by the Company's servants not to receive gifts, presents, or rewards in India. The orders prohibiting presents, and desiring covenants to be entered into, were opened and recorded by the Council at Calcutta, on the 24th January 1765. Jaffier Ally Khan died on the 5th February following, when Nazim-ood-Dowlah, the Nabob from whom the members of the Council were charged, on Lord Clive's arrival, with having received the present of twenty lacs, succeeded to the musnud.

The Committee of Correspondence having been appointed to confer with Lord Clive on the various suggestions he had made, and to report their opinions to the Court, the Committee, on the 25th May 1764, recommended, "that, in order to restore peace and tranquillity in Bengal, full powers be given to our president and governor Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, General Carnac, Messrs. Verelst and Sykes, to pursue whatever means they

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they judge most proper to attain the same ; but that, when it can be done conveniently, they are to consult the Council at large. However, when those desirable objects are obtained, the said extraordinary powers are immediately to cease."

The Court of Directors adopted the recommendation of the Committee on the same day, and, as already shewn, it formed part of the instructions to the President and Council at Calcutta.

Such were the facts connected with Lord Clive's appointment. It has however been stated that, "during the military and political transactions which so intensely engaged their servants in India, the Courts of Directors and Proprietors remained for several years rather quiet spectators and warm expectants, than keen and troublesome controllers.

"When they had been agitated for a while, however, by the reports of mismanagement which were mutually transmitted to them by Vansittart and his opponents, and, at last, when they were alarmed by the news of a war actually kindled with the Nabob, of the massacre of so many of their servants, and the extensive spirit of mutiny among the troops, their sense of danger roused them to some acts of authority. Though Clive had quitted India with an act of insult towards his employers, which they had highly resented ; though the Directors had disputed and withheld payment

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payment of the proceeds of his jaghire, for which he had commenced a suit against them in the Court of Chancery; he was now proposed for governor, as the only man capable of retrieving their disordered and desperate affairs. Only thirteen Directors, however, were found, after a violent contest, to vote for his appointment, while it was still opposed by eleven. Yet the high powers which he demanded, as indispensable for the arduous services necessary to be performed, though strongly opposed, were also finally conferred. He was invested with the powers of commander-in-chief, president, and governor, in Bengal, and together with four gentlemen, named by the Directors, was to form a Select Committee, empowered to act by their own authority, as often as they deemed it expedient, without consulting the Council or being subject to its control."

With regard to the first clause of the passage, the Company's records shew, that both the Courts of Directors and Proprietors watched with much solicitude the progress of affairs in India. There is nothing which authorizes the inference, that they were at that period "warm expectants," (it is presumed) either of new acquisitions or exorbitant gains. They desired the means of meeting the heavy expenditure which the operations in that country had entailed upon the Company. They advised and directed, where advice and direction could be safely given; and although

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they wisely abstained “from controlling any measures which the exigency of circumstances might have called for on the part of the Council, they communicated their sentiments and wishes thereon to their servants.”

Indeed, the principles which governed the Court at that early period of the Company's political history, present an extraordinary coincidence with those expressed by the Court, only in the month of January 1835:—

“Long experience, as well as reflection, has convinced the Court of Directors, that, under the very imperfect knowledge which can here be attained of all the circumstances connected with, and bearing upon, public arrangements and operations of the government in India, there are few cases in which precise and peremptory rules ought to be prescribed. The course which they have followed, as the only safe and salutary one, has been, to be copious and minute in instructions and observations, both as regards the principles to be acted upon, and the application to be made of them in particular circumstances: but to be very sparing in orders and rules, which leave not a latitude to those on the spot, who alone are competent to frame their measures in such a manner as to adapt them to circumstances which here may have been only partially known.”

So far from the Court having been aroused to acts of authority by the news of actual hostilities

ties

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ties with the Nabob—by the massacre of so many of their servants—and by the extensive spirit of mutiny among the troops, it has been seen that they had exercised those acts of authority before any such news had reached England. That the death of Mr. Amyatt was not known to the Court until three weeks after he had been removed from the service; the account of the massacre did not arrive until three months, and that of the mutiny until six months, after the appointment of Lord Clive; and instead of its having been considered an extensive mutiny, the Court of Directors, on the 11th October, 1764, caused the following notice to be issued through the daily papers: “We can with good authority assure the public, that although, by the last advices from Bengal (7th February), the East-India Company were informed there had been a mutiny among the troops, instigated and encouraged by some French soldiers, about one hundred and fifty in number, who had enlisted in the Company’s service, yet the same, at the time of despatching those advices, was quelled, without the loss or desertion of a single European, except those Frenchmen above-mentioned.” The appointment of Lord Clive was that of the Court of Proprietors, and not of the Court of Directors. With regard to the high powers stated to have been “demanded,” it would be inferred from the statement that they formed one of the stipulations under which his

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Lordship accepted the office of president ; whereas he was sworn in on the 30th April, and it was not until the 25th May that the recommendation of the Committee of Correspondence already noticed, which was agreed to in personal communication with, and not in consequence of any demand from his Lordship, was adopted by the majority of the Court. It was on that occasion that the eleven Directors dissented not from his appointment but from the resolution conferring such powers on the Select Committee, which was to consist of four members besides his Lordship ; and so far from the act conferring such powers being unusual, the principle had obtained, of appointing a Select Committee to act irrespective of the Council, since February, 1756.

In the instance of the expedition to Madras under Colonel Forde, in 1758, the Select Committee acted under such powers, as appears by the Consultations of the 21st August in that year. In the instance of Mr. Vansittart, in February 1764, only three months preceding the proposition for conferring the powers in question on Lord Clive and the Committee, full powers had been given by the Court to Mr. Vansittart “with authority to pursue whatever means he judged most proper to attain the object. He was in all cases, where it could be done conveniently, to consult the Council at large, or at least the Select Committee, though the power of determining was *to be in him alone!*”

Lord

Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta, and took his seat as President, on the 3d May. One of the first measures of the Select Committee was the suppression of the internal trade, which had been the cause of such serious and frequent disputes. In accordance with the opinion of the Select Committee, an order was issued in Council, on the 20th May, requiring all European agents employed in the different parts of the country to repair to the presidency by the 1st August. The attention of the Council was also drawn by the President to a representation from the Nabob, that, since his father's death, a distribution had been made of twenty lac's by Mahommed Reza Khan, for the purpose of maintaining him in his station, and that members of the Council had participated in the gifts. Mr. Leycester, one of the members of the Council, recorded a minute explanatory of the course he had followed. On the 7th June, the subject of receiving presents from the country government and its officers, contrary to the orders from home, and to the covenants required to be entered into by the servants of the Company, being brought under discussion by the proceedings of the Select Committee, Mr. Johnstone, a member of the Council, desired that the question, "whether the acceptance of all presents is improper?" might be put to each member of the Board. Of the eight members present, including the President, four gave a decided or qualified opinion in favour of receiving presents ;

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Presents accepted by
members of
Council.

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presents; and four, including the President, were opposed to their receipt.*

The

* Extract Bengal Consultations, 7th June, 1765:—

Mr. BURDETT is of opinion, "That such presents may be received or not, according to particular circumstances; that the Nabob had a right to dispose of his own property, and that the presents, on the occasion in question, might with great propriety be received."

Mr. LEYCESTER: "That where they are not the price of services, they may very properly be received."

Mr. SYKES: "That presents at all times from the Nabob or his officers are very improper, as tending to the prejudice of the Company's interests."

Mr. JOHNSTONE: "That where they are not the price of unworthy services, and no trust is betrayed for them, the acceptance of them is no way improper; and, in the present case, as being previous to the execution [*but not the receipt of the orders**] of the deed of covenant, as warrantable as in time past by any who had received them."

Mr. VERELST is of opinion, "That the receiving of presents, at a time the Board are doing their duty in supporting the government, and in the interest of the Company, is highly improper; and the more so in the present instance, since he is informed that the Company's orders and covenants were received in Calcutta before the tender of them."

Mr. PLEYDELL agrees in the opinion given by Mr. Leycester.

Mr. SUMNER is of opinion, "That the acceptance of presents after the receipt of the Company's orders to the contrary, and the covenants, is very improper."

The PRESIDENT: "That no presents whatever ought to have been accepted after the receipt of the covenants, except in the manner specified therein."

Mr. LEYCESTER recorded, on the 11th June, a minute, of which the following is an extract. It is a singular document, and presents a curious specimen of reasoning in support of his views:—

"When

* *Vide* page 127.

The following extract from a minute recorded by Mr. Johnstone in Council, on the 17th June, evinces a strong party spirit, as well as a jealous feeling towards Lord Clive and the Select Committee, and affords some clue to the reasons which doubtless operated on the mind of his Lordship, in pressing for the removal of Mr. Spencer from Council.*

“It seems the aim of the (Select) Committee to render the proceedings of the late President and Council, if possible, obnoxious, instead of striving to promote the cordiality so much to be wished.

To

“When the Company’s interests were altogether secured, and the orders of the Board fully executed, it is very true that I accepted a present from the Nabob. I never made a secret of it, as the custom of this country on such occasions, well known to every body, *sanctifies* the acceptance; and where presents have not been esteemed the price of improper services, I never heard a reflection cast on those who did receive them. It has always been my opinion, that, in a country not under the most absolute tyranny, every man’s property was at his own disposal, and every one was at liberty to accept what was offered without fear or compulsion, the same not being a consideration for improper services. The adopting opposite maxims is contrary to the known practice of those who have gone before us; and though absolute orders, with a penalty annexed, may make the receiving presents improper and inconvenient, yet they cannot alter the rectitude of the act itself; and I will venture to appeal to the common sentiments of mankind, which, I am persuaded, will condemn that man as a very absurd one, who, having an opportunity of obtaining a comfortable maintenance for no dishonourable sacrifice, should decline the occasion.”

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* *Vide* page 126.

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To what causes must we attribute this temper of the Committee? One would almost think they were piqued to find the interest of the Company so well secured before their arrival; only they must know that their coming at all was doubtful, and the gentlemen who had felt the defects of the former treaty, were full as well qualified to remedy them in the new one, and have no doubt their masters will approve their services. I have heard that the Governor has expressed much chagrin, that the affair of his jaghire has been settled according to his agreement with the Company without his interposition, though a better opportunity could not have occurred to get it done. Mr. Spencer, than whose merit none stands in a fairer light with the Company, was, if I may so call him, *the darling of that party which in England opposed Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Committee*. Any attack of him or his measure, is an attack on the party who espoused him; and though I would not assert that any such sentiments influenced any member of the Board, yet I cannot help being surprised at the uncommon neglect and disregard shewn to Mr. Spencer by Lord Clive."

Lord Clive recorded a minute on the 24th June, as to the jaghire, which had been so broadly adverted to by Mr. Johnstone. His Lordship did not shrink from boldly maintaining what he conceived to be his just rights, from the earliest moment the point became matter of dispute until
the

the final settlement of the question :—“ As to the recrimination of my having formerly received a present from Meer Jaffier, which Mr. Johnstone would establish as a precedent to be followed by every body, he is not ignorant that it was given to me in a military capacity only, as a reward for real services rendered to the Nabob at a very dangerous crisis ; nor was that reward ever stipulated, required, or expected by me, or with my knowledge. Be it also remembered, that what I received in consequence of the battle of Plassey, was the only present I ever did receive, although I remained, during the space of nearly three years afterwards, President of the Council, and at the head of a victorious army. Let the impartial world determine, whether those who have succeeded me with inferior pretensions, and even in inferior stations, have conducted themselves with equal propriety or moderation. It is unnecessary for me to dwell longer upon the subject of my own conduct, having long ago published every particular relating to it, and having long ago had the satisfaction of seeing it approved by my employers. If all Mr. Johnstone’s transactions will bear the test as well as mine, he will no doubt receive as honourable testimonials of public approbation as I did. The gentleman has heard, it seems, that I expressed some chagrin in finding that the confirmation of the jaghire to the Company on the expiration of ten years, or at my death, had been obtained (at-

tempted,

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tempted, I suppose he would have said, for it is not yet obtained) without my interposition. As this part of Mr. Johnstone's minute happens to be a fact, I will do him the justice to acknowledge it. I have not scrupled to say, and I still continue of opinion, that the late President and Council were officious in applying for the confirmation. The Court of Directors, in their letter of the 1st June last, expressly say, that they need give no other directions relative to that business, than that the Council shall co-operate with me in effecting it; and that, in case of my death, then the President and Council for the time being shall solicit for, and use their best endeavours to obtain, the grant, in as effectual a manner as if I had been living to co-operate with them. These being the orders, the only orders, they received, and the opportunity they so much dwell on being of no importance, I cannot help repeating, that the application which the gentlemen thought fit to make to the Nabob was officious, and strongly intimated either a distrust of my intentions to complete the agreement I had entered into, or an inclination to deprive me of that small testimony of my attachment to the Company."

Necessity for
powers of Se-
lect Commit-
tee.

Nothing could more strongly prove the necessity for his Lordship being armed with the powers that had been conferred upon him and the other members of the Select Committee, than the proceedings which have been so fully noticed. A reference

to

to the documents is essential, in order to place the facts before the reader, and to enable him to form a correct opinion as to the conduct of Lord Clive, in the various peculiar and difficult positions in which he was placed.*

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On the receipt of Mr. Leycester's minute, and the other proceedings, the Court wrote as follows : "In the thirtieth paragraph of our letter of the 19th February last, we expressed our surprise that the covenants were not executed, nor any notice taken of them ; judge, then, what we feel on learning, from Mr. Leycester's minute on Consultation, 11th June, 1765, that they never were intended to be executed ; and we presume he speaks not only his own sentiments, but the sentiments of his colleagues, when he says, the covenants were rather the effects of party than the cool sentiments of his masters, and that it was probable parties would unite in abolishing covenants that could only injure individuals, and do
the

* Before the Directors had received intelligence of the proceedings in Council, and the minute of Mr. Leycester, they wrote to Bengal, on the 19th February, 1766 :—"We cannot avoid taking notice, that the late President and Council neither acknowledged the receipt of the covenants relative to the receiving presents from the country government, nor have they taken the least notice of them. We hope there is no further meaning in this neglect than the deferring it till Lord Clive's arrival ; yet, when we consider the total disregard of our most solemn orders on the most important subjects, we know not where their disobedience will stop."

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BENGAL.

the Company no service. If our servants presume thus to call in question our most direct and positive orders, enforced, too, by the general voice of the whole body of Proprietors, it is time for us to exert the authority vested in us, and to do justice to the injured natives, to our own honour, and to the national character.

“The proceedings of the Select Committee have laid open to us a most complicated scene of corruption.

“Neither can we admit, that the vast sums obtained on this occasion were by any means free gifts; the dependent situation of the Soubah is itself a refutation of the plea; and his letter to Lord Clive and the Select Committee, with the concurrent testimonies of the Seats, and Mahmud Reza Cawn, together with the depositions of the several people examined in this matter, amount to the clearest proofs that they were exacted from the several parties as the terms of the protection granted them; and, lastly, we shall say a word or two to what those gentlemen vainly imagine makes strong in their defence, that no interest was sacrificed to obtain them.

“The Company was engaged in a war which, as far as we can judge, cost them from ten to twelve lacs per month, for which the Nabob had stipulated to pay no more than five lacs per month, and even that fell in arrears; the Nabob was at this time pressed for payment of the remaining
thirty

thirty lacs for restitution, besides other unlawful demands on him. It cannot surely be pleaded that, under these circumstances of the Soubah and the Company, no interest of the Company was sacrificed to obtain them ! We think these gentlemen sacrificed their own honour, the interest and honour of the Company, and of the nation.

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“ We are sorry to see some of the gentlemen have thought fit to justify their breach of trust by a breach of order, in pleading the covenants were not executed, therefore not obligatory. But so totally do we differ from them, that we think them not only guilty of a breach of those particular covenants, but also of the general covenants, which were entered into before these last were found so necessary.

“ The cavils and opposition of several of the members of the Council to the powers and conduct of our Select Committee, appear most evidently to have been calculated to screen and obstruct the inquiries into and detection of their misbehaviour ; but we are satisfied you have had the real interest of the Company constantly in your view, in all your researches into the general corruption and rapacity of our servants, with the spirit and disinterestedness which do you honour, and merit our approbation.” *

Ten

* Letter to Bengal, 17th May, 1766.

1765. Ten servants, including Mr. Spencer, were dismissed the Company's service.
BENGAL.

Shuja Dowla, having found means to engage Mulhar, a considerable Mahratta chief, in his alliance, made formidable preparations to penetrate a second time * into the Nabob's dominions. The measures pursued by Brigadier-general Carnac, who had assumed the command of the army, prevented a junction of the numerous forces destined for the invasion, and averted the consequences of a ruinous war, which must have been supported through another campaign. Having reason to believe that their intention was to fall upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a separate corps in the Corah district, the general by forced marches united his troops with those of Sir Robert, and, on the 3d May, coming up with the enemy, completely defeated them. The Mahrattas retired with precipitation towards the Jumna, where they took up a position, whence they intended, if possible, to re-enter the district of Corah. The general attacked them again on the 22d, and obliged them to retire to the hills.

Shuja Dowla
defeated.

Surrenders to
the British Government.

The Vizier, Shuja Dowla, having intimated a desire to throw himself upon the generosity of the British Government, was received with the respect which was considered due to his rank.

It

It appeared to the Council, that a peace with the Vizier was the immediate object to be attained. Lord Clive accordingly quitted Calcutta on the 24th June, to conclude a treaty; for which purpose, his Lordship was furnished by the Council with the following instructions:—"Experience having shewn, that an influence maintained by force of arms is destructive of that commercial spirit which we ought to promote, ruinous to the Company, and oppressive to the country, we earnestly recommend to your Lordship, that you will exert your utmost endeavours to conciliate the affections of the country powers, *to remove any jealousy they may entertain of our unbounded ambition, and to convince them we aim not at conquest and dominion*, but security in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to us. With this view, policy requires that our demands be moderate and equitable, and that we avoid every appearance of an inclination to enlarge our territorial possessions. The sacrifice of conquests, which we must hold on a very precarious tenure, and at an expense more than equivalent to their revenues, is of little consequence to us; yet will such restitutions impress them with a high opinion of our generosity and justice. For these reasons, we think Shuja Dowla should be reinstated in the full possession of all his dominions, with such limitations only as he must see are evidently calculated for our mutual benefit. We would decline

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BENGAL.
Lord Clive proceeds up the country and concludes a treaty with the Vizier and Nabob.

in

1765.
BENGAL.

insisting upon any terms that must prove irksome to his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his sincerity. Retaining possession of any of his strongholds may possibly be deemed a necessary pledge of his fidelity. For our parts, we would rather consider it as the source of future contention and an unnecessary burthen to the Company, unless it be one day proposed to resume the thought of extending their dominions : a measure very opposite to the sentiments in which we left the Court of Directors.”

In accordance with these instructions, his Lordship and General Carnac concluded a treaty of peace with Shuja Dowla and the Nabob, on the 16th August, at Allahabad.* Whatever reasonable expectations the Council entertained that this treaty would secure their friendship and fidelity, and render the public tranquillity permanent, it was the commencement of a connexion which has been a fruitful source of discussion to the present day.

The Nabob was extremely averse to the establishment of factories in his dominions, as he justly considered, from past experience, that they would lay the foundation of a future rupture, and prove the only thing that could possibly disturb our amity. The word *factories* was omitted in the treaty ; but without relinquishing the right, should it be found expedient, after mature deliberation,

* *Vide Printed Treaties.*

ration, to enforce it, the Council stated that they could foresee no benefit to arise to the Company from maintaining settlements at so vast a distance from the presidency, whatever advantages might accrue to their servants. The prospect was so remote, while the expenses were so certain, the risk so evident, and the disputes it might occasion so probable, that they were of opinion the factory lately established at Benares ought immediately to be withdrawn. They considered the limits of the Nabob's dominions sufficient to answer all purposes, and that they ought to constitute the boundaries, not only of all the Company's territories, possessions, and influence, but of their commerce also. "Grasping at more would endanger the safety of the revenues, and the well-founded power which they enjoyed, without the hope of obtaining an adequate advantage."

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A sufficient provision was secured for the support of the king's honour and dignity, without danger of his becoming a future incumbrance. Twenty-six lacs yearly were granted to him on the revenues of Bengal, an income far more considerable than he ever before enjoyed. The Select Committee then announced, that, "in gratitude for this instance of our attention to his interest, his majesty has been pleased to bestow on the Company the most important grants ever yet obtained by any European state from the Mogul Court.

1765.
BENGAL.

DEWANNY
granted to the
Company.

Besides confirming to the Company all their former possessions, and securing to them the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's jaghire, he has conferred on them the DEWANNY OF BENGAL, BAHAR, AND ORISSA, and, ratified in the strongest terms an agreement we proposed concluding with the Nabob, if the king's consent could be procured.* Another article stipulated that Shuja Dowla should pay the Company fifty lacs of rupees, by way of indemnification for the charges incurred by the war. The surrender of Cossim, Sumroo, and the deserters, was utterly out of his power. The former had sought shelter in the Rohillah country, and the latter under the protection of the Jauts. It was agreed that they should never meet encouragement or assistance from Shuja Dowla, or be again admitted into his country. A sanguine hope was entertained that the treaty of peace would be lasting, and our frontiers in that quarter perfectly secure against foreign invasions.

The Select Committee then observed : " The time now approaches, when we may be able to determine, with some degree of certainty, whether our remaining as merchants, subjected to the jurisdiction, encroachments, and insults of the country government, or the supporting your privileges and possessions by the sword, are likely to

* Letter from the Select Committee, 30th September, 1765.

to prove most beneficial to the Company. Whatever may be the consequence, certain it is that, after having once begun and proceeded to such lengths, we have been forced to go on from step to step, until your whole possessions were put to the risk by every revolution effected and every battle fought. To apply a remedy to those evils, by giving stability and permanency to your government, is now, and has been, the constant object of the serious attention of your Select Committee."

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BENGAL.

These remarks justly point out a state of things flowing from the progress of events so self-evident, that they require no comment. It has been charged upon Lord Clive, that he had planned or contemplated the acquisition of the Dewanny when at Madras, on his passage out. It should not be forgotten that the Dewanny of Bengal had been offered to the Company in 1761.* His lordship denied the justice of the charge. But so far from attaching any thing like criminality to the idea, had it been entertained by Lord Clive, it must have been clear to any one who had watched the course of things, that it was the most likely measure to prevent a recurrence of those disputes and disagreements with the Nabob, which had so frequently occurred and had been so strongly condemned. The Select Committee themselves

Beneficial results anticipated.

* *Vide* page 47.

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BENGAL.

selves seem to have felt such to be the case, in writing to the Court :

“ The perpetual struggles for superiority between the nabobs and your agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that no other method could be suggested of laying the axe to the root of all these evils, than that of obtaining the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa for the Company. By establishing the power of the Great Mogul, we have likewise established his rights ; and his majesty, from principles of gratitude, equity, and policy, has thought proper to bestow this important employment on the Company, the nature of which is, the collecting all the revenues, and after defraying the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Delhi, or wherever the king shall reside or direct.”

Court's views
on acquiring
the Dewanny.

The Directors expressed their sentiments on this event in the following terms : * “ We come now to consider the great and important affair of the Dewanny. When we consider that the barrier of the country government was entirely broke down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression

* Letter to Bengal, 17th May, 1766.

sion of the helpless native, who knew not whom to obey, at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company.

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BENGAL.

“ We must now turn our attention to render our acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them. This permanency, we apprehend, can be found only in the simplicity of the execution. We observe the account you give of the office and power of the king’s Dewan in former times was—the collecting of all the revenues, and after defraying the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Delhi. This description of it is not the office we wish to execute ; the experience we have already had, in the province of Burdwan, convinces us how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts to conceal the real value of his country, to perplex and to elude the payments. We therefore entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government, in the upholding the dignity of the Soubah.

“ We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collection and disposal of the revenues, which office, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our resident at the durbar, under the control of the Governor and Select Committee,
the

1765.
BENGAL.

the ordinary bounds of which control should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Dewannah, or the Company.

“ The resident at the durbar, being constantly on the spot, cannot be long a stranger to any abuses in the government, and is always armed with power to remedy them. It will be his duty to stand between the administration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's servants, which must first be known to him ; and we rely on his fidelity to the Company to check all such encroachments, and to prevent the oppression of the natives. We would have his correspondence to be carried on with the Select Committee through the channel of the president. He should keep a diary of all his transactions. His correspondence with the natives must be publicly conducted ; copies of all his letters sent and received be transmitted monthly to the presidency, with duplicates and triplicates, to be transmitted home, in our general packet, by every ship.” This was the introduction of the system of recorded check, which has since prevailed in conducting the home administration of the India government.

Opposition to
Lord Clive.

After Lord Clive had returned to the presidency, various questions arose, which involved a great difference of opinion, and a spirit of opposition

tion was evinced towards his Lordship, which rendered it absolutely necessary either that he should adopt strong and decided measures for maintaining the authority with which he was invested, or at once relinquish the government.

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The latter course would have left the interests of the Company to parties who had evinced a contempt for all authority, and a determination to promote their own interests at any cost. His Lordship stated that the series of excesses which he had pointed out were not confined to the civil service, but the thirst after riches was daily promoting the ruin of the army. He dwelt upon the encroachment of the military upon the civil jurisdiction, and their attempt to be independent of the civil authority, and observed, "the whole army should be subordinate to the civil power, and it is the indispensable duty of the Governor and Council to keep them so. If at any time they should struggle for superiority, the Governor and Council must strenuously exert themselves, ever mindful that they are the trustees for the Company in this settlement, and the guardians of public property under a civil institution."

His Lordship's
views.

After touching upon various other points connected with the state of the public affairs in India, his Lordship adverted to his contemplated return to England in the ensuing year.

"Calcutta, 30th September, 1765 :—Permit me now to remind you, that I have a large family

His intended
return to
England.

who

1765.

BENGAL.

who stand in need of a father's protection ; that I sacrifice my health, and hazard my fortune, with my life, by continuing in this climate. The first great purposes of my appointment are perfectly answered ; peace is restored, and my engagement to procure for the Company the reversion of my jaghire is completed in the fullest manner, since it is not only confirmed by the present Nabob, but by the Great Mogul. I now only wait to be informed whether my conduct thus far be approved of, and whether the whole or any part of the regulations I have had the honour to lay before you are conformable to your ideas of the reformation necessary to be established. If they meet with your approbation, I doubt not you will immediately empower me, in conjunction with the Select Committee, to finish the business so successfully begun, which may easily be effected before the end of the ensuing year, when I am determined to return to Europe, and hope to acquaint you, in person, with the accomplishment of every wish you can form for the prosperity of your affairs in Bengal." In May, 1766, the Court of Directors sent an overland despatch, on learning the intention of Lord Clive to quit India, and requested his continuance in the government : "The stability of your Lordship's plan," they observed, "with respect to our possessions and revenues, the peace of the country, and effecting a thorough reformation in the excessive abuses and

Requested by
the Court to
remain.

and negligence of our servants, require time, care, and ability to accomplish; we cannot, therefore, but be under great concern at the notice your Lordship has given us of your intention to leave Bengal the end of this year. But as the interest of the Company depends upon your Lordship's perfecting what you have laid so good a foundation for, it is our earnest and unanimous request, that you will continue another season in Bengal; the doing which will further add to the honour and reputation your Lordship has already most deservedly acquired, and will lay a lasting obligation upon the Company. This request is of so much consequence, that we have thought it necessary to send it overland, to be forwarded to Bengal by way of Bussorah, as it may probably come to your hand before the arrival of the *Mercury* packet, which we are using our endeavours to get away in about a fortnight; by which we shall send our sentiments, observations, and directions, upon the several advices received by the *Admiral Steevens*, as fully as so short a time will admit of."

BENGAL.
1765.

The Select Committee being of opinion, that opening a communication between the Northern Circars and Bengal would prove mutually advantageous to the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bengal, they determined to embrace the favourable opportunity, which the feeble condition of the Mahrattas afforded, to carry the measure into execution; for which purpose they "set
on

Northern Cir-
cars.

1765.
BENGAL.

on foot a negociation with their chief," proposing that he should cede to the Company the northern parts of Orissa, now in his possession, upon our paying a certain stipulated annual revenue. But whatever his determination might be, it was resolved not to attempt gaining the advantage by violence or force of arms.

Political relations.

The political relations of the Government appeared to be in a satisfactory state. Shuja Dowla was disposed to cultivate our friendship, and adhere strictly to the conditions of the late treaty. Colonel Smith's brigade was stationed at Allahabad and Benares, to secure the king and vizier against the invasions of the Mahrattas, until they had fully re-established themselves, and completed the payment of the stipulated indemnification to the Company. The king's visionary projects, of seating himself, with the Company's assistance, on the throne of his ancestors, and proceeding to Delhi, his capital, appeared "to have vanished" before the Select Committee's remonstrances; and they hoped that he was at length convinced that, without our aid, the scheme was impracticable. On this point, it was remarked, in the letter to the Court, "we are certain it never can be your interest to extend the influence of your arms to so great a distance from your present possessions and the seat of your government."*

Peace

* Letter from Bengal, dated 31st January 1766.

Peace being happily restored to the provinces, the Select Committee stated, "it would be their study to preserve and prolong those advantages which had already begun to be experienced."

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To supply the places of two members of the Council who had resigned, of one who had been suspended, and of three who had evinced a total unfitness for the station, and in consideration of the extreme youth of most of the other servants, the Select Committee determined to call in the assistance of four meritorious servants from Madras, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known.† The proceeding occasioned great dissatisfaction amongst the Bengal servants, and led to an association against the proceedings of the committee, and an agreement not to visit or accept invitations from the Governor. "However puerile, it is the fact," observed his Lordship. The same spirit prevailed against all but one member of the Select Committee. The secretary to the Council, being at the head of the association, was suspended.

Servants called
from Madras.

After entering into these details, and pointing out the remedies which his Lordship considered essential to be introduced in the general system of the service, he stated it to be his intention, so soon as the ships were despatched, and the gentlemen who were expected from Madras should have

* The Court of Directors approved and confirmed this step.

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have arrived, to proceed up the country, for the purpose of supervising in person the Company's affairs.

Lord Clive proceeds up the country.

Lord Clive, accompanied by General Carnac, accordingly, left the presidency at the close of March.

On the 8th April, his Lordship addressed a letter to the Council, dated at Moostejeyl, stating that, as the receipt of a legacy did not appear to be prohibited by the new covenants, he had received from the Begum, wife of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, an obligation for the sum of five lacs of rupees, which was bequeathed to him by the Nabob, a few hours before his death, in the presence of many witnesses, whose attestations would be forwarded, to be laid before the Board. His Lordship added, that he should immediately pay the amount into the Company's treasury, to form a fund, the interest of which to be applied by way of pension to officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men, disqualified by wounds, or disease, or length of service, from further duty, and likewise to their widows who might be left in distressed circumstances.

Formation of Lord Clive's fund.

The Council were unanimously of opinion, that the receipt of the legacy was in no way prohibited by the new covenants, and expressed the lively sense they entertained of his Lordship's "generous and well-placed donation."

This act of generosity, for so it was termed by the

the Court of Directors as well as by the Council abroad, has not escaped severe animadversion. Although the legacy was left by Meer Jaffier to Lord Clive during his Lordship's passage to India, in February, 1765, it has been alleged, that it was the act of Jaffier's son, Nujeem-ool-Dowla, and that it not only partook of the character of a present, but was another instance of the acquisitions of Lord Clive, which came "subsequently" to view, and had, it may therefore be supposed, been previously and purposely concealed.

The despatch from Bengal, announcing the donation, was received by the Court on the 19th June, 1767. Doubts having arisen whether, under the covenants, his Lordship could legally accept the bequest, the subject was brought under the consideration of the law-officers of the Company and the Crown, by some of whom it was maintained, that his Lordship had a clear and legal right to it. To put all doubts at rest, the Court of Directors, on the 2d August, 1767, unanimously resolved, "that his Lordship be empowered to accept of the said legacy or donation, and they do highly approve of his Lordship's generosity in bestowing the said legacy of five lacs in so useful a charity; and they hereby consent and agree to accept of the trust of the said fund, and will give directions that the same be carried into execution in legal and proper form."

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On

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On the 6th April, 1770, the Committee of the Military Fund was appointed, to carry into effect a deed of agreement between his Lordship and the Company. The sum given by Lord Clive was £62,833, to which the successor of Meer Jaffier added £37,700, together with the further sum of £24,128, being the interest from the Company, at eight per cent., on the cash notes granted on the two first-mentioned sums.

It is stated, “to this *ambiguous* transaction the institution at Poplar owes its foundation.” The institution at Poplar was founded by the old East-India Company, in 1627, under the designation of “*POPLAR HOSPITAL*,” for the purpose of relieving persons who had been employed in their *Maritime Service*. The regulations by which it was governed were revised in 1681, 1768, and 1813.

Poplar Hospital and Lord Clive’s Fund are separate institutions, the former having existed one hundred and twenty-seven years before Lord Clive’s Fund was formed, and the sources from whence each derives its pecuniary means of support being quite distinct.

Double batta
reduced.

The order of the Court of Directors for the reduction of double batta had been carried into effect in January.* Representations against that measure,

* *General Letter to Bengal, the 9th March, 1763*:—The reduction of your military expenses, and particularly of your field-allowances, was, and is still, an object most worthy of your serious

measure, couched in moderate terms, were sent in from the subalterns, and a memorial was presented from the officers of the first brigade to the Council. There was no apparent irritation on the part of the officers, and there was every reason to conclude that the army would remain satisfied until the whole subject had been brought before the Court of Directors for their re-consideration. The Council remarked that, conscious of the necessity

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serious attention. The extraordinary allowance of double batta is what we cannot pass over without some animadversions thereon.

“ The allowance of double batta is not only entirely new to us, but no reasons are given why of late it should be deemed more necessary than it was heretofore. We must observe, that your compliance therewith is founded on an estimate which appears to us of a very extraordinary nature, with regard to the great number of servants said to be necessary in the field ; to the alleged dearness of provisions, which we have reason to believe is greater on the coast of Coromandel than in Bengal ; and also to the unprecedented expense for wearing apparel.” Again,

Military Letter to Bengal, the 1st June, 1764 :—“ We gave you our sentiments so fully upon the exorbitant military expenses at your presidency in our letter of the 9th March, 1763, that we have now only most positively to enforce the orders therein given, for your taking every opportunity to reduce them within the most frugal bounds the general good of the service will admit of. But with respect to the double batta, however, we as positively order, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, half of it be struck off, that is to say, all our military are to have single batta only, in the same manner as is allowed at our presidency of Fort St. George, and even this single batta we most earnestly recommend it to you to reduce whenever circumstances will admit of it.”

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cessity which existed for a reduction of the military expenses, they were determined to see the orders strictly obeyed ; at the same time, “ until the charges incurred on account of servants, horses, and the necessary equipage of the field in the climate of India, were diminished by some regulation, the allowance of a subaltern would scarcely maintain him in the station of a gentleman.”

Military combination.

During Lord Clive's stay at Moorshedabad, he received, on the 29th April, intelligence that a general combination had taken place among all ranks of the army under the degree of a field officer, with a determination to distress the Government by throwing up their commissions on a given day.

Lord Clive's measures in subduing it.

His Lordship resolved to proceed at once to Monghir, where the first battalion lay in cantonments. He wrote to the Council, recommending that all should be put to risk rather than suffer the authority of Government to be insulted ; and that he felt the saving of the half batta to be quite a secondary consideration, when compared with the danger to be apprehended from yielding to the menaces of so mutinous an association.

One hundred and thirty officers had already subscribed to the association, and engaged to raise a fund, not only for the maintenance and support of those who should suffer, but also to enable them to purchase commissions in the king's service in England.

An

An army making its own terms was so alarming a circumstance, that the Council fully concurred in his Lordship's views, and resolved by every means to crush such a mutinous spirit in its birth at all hazards. Orders were given to accept all the resignations which might be sent in, and the parties who tendered them were to be sent down to Calcutta within twenty-four hours.

Intelligence was shortly after received that the officers of the 2d and 3d brigades intended to resign on the 1st June. The firmness of the Council was not to be shaken ; they resolved to persevere in enforcing the orders, and requisitions were immediately despatched to Madras and Bombay for troops. The field officers and men remained firm. Reinforcements having arrived, reflection succeeded to folly and madness, the officers began to see the absurdity of their conduct in its true light ; "jealousy and reproach took place in their councils—individuals separated themselves from the cause—and the offenders almost to a man submissively acknowledged their error, and prayed to be re-admitted to the service."

It appeared that the combination had, in point of fact, commenced in January, and at a time when the disaffection amongst the civilians was at its height, many of whom, there was every reason to believe, had joined in instigating the revolt.

From subsequent inquiry, it was found that Lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher himself

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1766. had promoted the association ; he was accordingly
 BENGAL. placed in arrest and ordered to be tried by a court-martial, by whose sentence he was cashiered, and was sent by the Government to England in November.

Congress at
 Chupra.

During Lord Clive's residence in Bahar, a congress was held at Chupra, at which his Lordship, General Carnac, Shuja Dowla, and the king's minister, assisted. The foundation was there laid for a proposed treaty between the Company, the vizier, and the Jaut and Rohilla chiefs, for their mutual defence and security against all attempts of the Mahrattas to invade their several dominions. His Lordship and General Carnac, from a consideration of the little advantage the Company could derive from such distant allies, left the matter to be arranged by Shuja Dowla, with an understanding that he was not to conclude anything, nor enter into any absolute engagements, "without having previously acquainted the President with every proposal, and obtained his approbation."*

Shuja Dowla was represented to have fully discharged all the engagements he had entered into by treaty with the Company.

Deputies from the Mahratta chiefs had also attended at Chupra, with others. It appeared that the Mahratta forces were assembled at the
 requisition

* Letter, Select Committee, 8th September, 1766.

requisition of the king, and upon the positive assurance which he gave, that an English army would join them for the purpose of escorting him to Delhi. The king had attempted by every artifice and persuasion, to succeed in his favourite scheme of proceeding to Delhi, which the Council were satisfied would terminate “in his own ruin, and in destroying the peace of the whole empire.”

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In order to watch the movements of the Mah-rattas, troops were stationed on the frontiers to cover the Bahar provinces.

Lord Clive and General Carnac returned to Calcutta the 30th July, on which occasion, the Council addressed a letter to his Lordship, expressive of their satisfaction at the success which had attended his measures, offering him their congratulations “on the happy issue of that prudence and firmness, which had been so vigorously exerted in reducing the military servants to discipline and to obedience.”*

Lord Clive re-
turns to the
Presidency.

The Nabob Nujeem-ool-Dowla died in May, and, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother, Syoof-ool-Dowla: a circumstance, it was observed, which, “had it occurred formerly, might have produced important consequences in the provinces, but at that time exhibited merely the change of persons in the Nizamut.”

The

* Consultations, 30th July.

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Contemplated
measures
against the
Mahrattas.

Lord Clive's
health obliges
him to return
to Europe.

The Council, being informed, by advices from Madras, that all the differences with Nizam Ally were likely to be removed, contemplated a plan of operations with the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, which would effectually prevent their being molested in future by the Mahrattas, by obliging that power to confine their whole attention to the preservation of their own possessions. The Council observed: "At present, they are the only power who can excite disturbances in Bengal; nor have we any thing further to apprehend, than a mere temporary interruption to our collections from them: hence, with our well-disciplined and numerous army, we may bid defiance to the most powerful force of the country that can be assembled in the field."

The Council advised the Court, in a despatch of the 28th November, that Lord Clive's health had for some time past prevented his attending to public business, and that he had retired to Baraset, in the hope that a change of air would effect his speedy recovery.

On the 12th December, his Lordship acknowledged the receipt of the Court's despatches of May, expressing their desire that he should continue in the government:

"I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 2d and 17th May, earnestly requesting my continuance in the government another year. My family concerns and parliamentary interests, important

portant as they are, should not make me hesitate to comply with a request which does me so much honour, if the situation of your affairs demanded my longer service, or if the reasons which suggested to you the desire of my remaining here were actually now existing. The very weak condition, however, to which a severe bilious disorder has reduced me, requires my immediate return to Europe. It is now a month since I have been in so deplorable a state of health, as to be wholly unable to attend to business; and it is past a doubt, that I cannot survive the malignity of this climate another year. Thus, useless as I am become to the Company, and without the least prospect of recovery in Bengal, I cannot doubt you will concur with me in the opinion, of the absolute necessity of returning to my native country.

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“The faithful view which I will now lay before you of the situation of your affairs will, moreover, convince you, that the consequences, of which you are apprehensive after my departure, cannot in all human probability happen, and that every material object of my expedition is fully accomplished.”

His Lordship then stated, that a Committee of Inspection had been appointed, for examining into every department, and for carrying into effect regulations for the general conduct of affairs.

General state
of affairs.

The spirit of opposition and extravagance had been subdued—a dangerous mutiny effectually quelled, and an example made of the ringleaders
—stability

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—stability had been given to the army by new articles of service—the conduct of the Council towards Shuja Dowla, in restoring him all his dominions, after he had been reduced by conquest to the very lowest ebb of fortune—the regular payment to the king of the tribute, which had never been paid to former Moguls, excepting in the plentitude of power and authority—the payment of the *chout* to the Mahrattas, and the influence which the invariable success of our arms had produced—all combined to place the interests and power of the Company on a firm and advantageous basis, and, at the same time, to convince the native states “that our ambition extends not beyond the maintenance of our present possessions, and that one of our first principles of government is justice.”

Such being the true state of the case, “to what purpose should I continue longer in a climate, which would certainly prove fatal to me at the end of another year? I could not leave your concerns in better hands, nor on a more prosperous footing; and you may be assured, I shall at all times be equally ready, in England as in India, to give every instance of my zeal for the Company’s interests, in gratitude to a service whence I derive my fortune and my honours.”

Inland trade

The unwarrantable and licentious manner in which the inland trade had been carried on by the Company’s servants, led the Court of Directors to
issue

issue positive orders, in February, 1764, that from their receipt in India, a final and effectual end should be put to the inland trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, and in all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country. The receipt of these orders were acknowledged by the Council in their letter of the 27th September, in which they stated that the Nabob had been prevailed upon to come down to Calcutta, for the purpose, among other points, of framing regulations for the inland trade. /

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The Directors in their general letter to the Council,* stated, that they had such entire confidence in Lord Clive's great ability and good intentions, that they had no doubt he would be able to carry into effect measures for correcting the system of private trade. They addressed a letter to Lord Clive personally, † in which they trusted that the state of affairs would admit of his attention being immediately directed to the regulation of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, so as to prevent the confusion and oppression that had sprung from the abuses practised in late years; intimating, at the same time, that his Lordship might depend upon the Court's support. The plan proposed by the Select Committee consisted of an exclusive company, composed of the three first classes of the covenanted servants, in whom

Abolition of
the exclusive
Company.

was

* February, 1765.

† April, 1765.

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was to be vested the right of trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, upon paying a certain duty. The management was committed to Mr. Sumner, and it was observed: "If the plan, therefore, should prove so fortunate as to meet the Court's approbation, the merit was chiefly due to that gentleman, who spared no pains to acquire a thorough insight into the subject; at the same time that he discharged the duties of the presidency during Lord Clive's absence."

The Court disapproved of the plan, and observed: "Much has been urged by our servants at different times in favour of the right to this trade, which we have always treated as a most absurd claim. The words of the phirmaund are: 'Whatever goods the English Company shall bring, or carry, &c., are duty free.' To suppose that the court of Delhi could mean by these words a monopoly of the necessaries of life over their own subjects, is such an absurdity, that we shall not lose time or words in trying to refute it.

"With respect to the Company, it is neither consistent with their honour nor their dignity to promote such an exclusive trade, as it is now more immediately our interest and duty to protect and cherish the inhabitants, and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national enemy, a sentiment we think such a monopoly would necessarily suggest. We cannot, therefore, approve the plan you have sent us, for trading in
salt,

salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, or admit of this trade in any shape whatever, and do hereby confirm our former orders for its entire abolition.

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“And here we must enjoin you to have particular regard and attention to the good of the natives, whose interest and welfare are now become our primary care; and we earnestly recommend it to you, that you take the most effectual methods to prevent these great necessities of life from being monopolized by the rich and great amongst themselves, and, by that means, the poor and indigent becoming liable to those grievances and exactions, which we mean to prevent our own people from being guilty of.”

Court's desire
to guard the
interests of
the natives.

The Council, the Court's orders, offered the following observations:—

“We now come to speak of your instructions relative to the *inland trade*, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal. Your orders are positive, and, therefore, our obedience shall be implicit. Accordingly, you will observe in our proceedings, that the *society* for conducting this branch of traffic *stands absolutely abolished on the 1st day of September next*. The contract for the present year being formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin to individuals and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders.

Abolition of
inland trade in
salt, betel-nut,
and tobacco.

“ But

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“ But, although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade to which you express so strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our sentiments upon a subject, in which we think your immediate interest, the good of the service, and the public welfare, are deeply concerned. The Honourable Court of Directors, and, indeed, the whole body of Proprietors, found it necessary to restrain, by covenants, their civil and military servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, in order that you may enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an increase of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your servants of the usual benefits arising from private trade. Farther, that the revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from lending money at a higher interest than twelve per cent. per annum ; and a trade by sea, in the manufactures of the country, being the only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that, likewise, is choked up by those shoals of free-merchants annually imported ; who, being encumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than your servants.

“ Taking all these circumstances into consideration ;

deration ; reflecting also upon the great increase of luxury in late years, in consequence of the sudden influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable, for a time, to reduce the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges ; we adopted, in consequence of your mission, the plan of a regulated and restricted inland trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of carrying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason complained.

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“ Our letter by the *Camden*, and proceedings by the *Cruttenden*, will explain to you the regulations in the original plan of the society, which took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations, the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly, since we are rather the agents for manufacturing the salt, than the proprietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and to the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it could ever be produced when under the management of the Government, before we were admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the different parts of the country, under such limitations, that it must reach the hands of the consumer

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consumer at a stated and moderate price. Hereby, the people sensibly feel the justice and lenity of our government; and your servants, who have attained the highest stations, after a course of many years spent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their services, and enjoy the means of securing that independence to which they have so equitable a claim.

“We are now directed totally to renounce all share in, and benefit arising from, this trade. It must be made over to the natives. The government must, of course, come into possession; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to ministers, officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite of our utmost influence and endeavours. These are at present our suspicions: time alone can verify our conjectures. You, no doubt, will maturely consider how far it is probable men will continue honest against all the seductions of private interest; and whether it may not be necessary to strengthen the ties of that duty expected from your servants, by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy during the time of their servitude, and the independency they ought to secure before the close of their labours.”

Court of Directors hope Lord Clive will remain.

The Court of Directors, anticipating the possibility of his Lordship's being enabled to continue

in

in the government, addressed him, on the 4th March, 1767, on the general receipts of the Presidency.

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“ Without the great receipts from the Dewannee, the Company must have been very considerable sufferers this year, by being disappointed of a great part of the investment. Most of the money collected, as well as the sums borrowed, were, we observe, applied towards carrying on the war, and there remained no resources, but such as the wealth of our servants might afford in return for bills on us, which we could not conveniently have paid, had the sum been very large. The amount of the expenses for 1765 so far surpasses every idea we had conceived of it, that we are amazed, but hope your Lordship will be able to reduce them within the compass you have flattered yourself.

“ Firmly persuaded, as we are, that every step beyond the Caramnassa, except in a defensive war, will lead to the irretrievable ruin of our affairs, it is with great pleasure we observe your strong opposition to every measure that tends to the marching our troops with the King to Delhi.

“ We are much pleased to see that the obtaining the execution of the treaty from Shuja Dowla is one of the objects of your Lordship’s and General Carnac’s expedition to the northward. We are anxious to have this measure effected, that the brigade at Illiabad may be recalled, and the powers

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powers of Indostan convinced we have no further object than to maintain the tranquillity of the Bengal provinces.

“ We read with extreme regret your Lordship’s intentions to leave Bengal the ensuing season; the more so, as an infirm state of health, and the disagreeable circumstances that have attended your administration, are the occasions of it. We do not wonder that the difficulties you had to encounter, from the interested opposition of almost the whole body of our servants, should have impaired your health; but we observe with pleasure, your public-spirited measures meet with no further opposition from the Council, since the Madras gentlemen have taken their seats at the Board.* We hope this will relieve your Lordship from your extreme application, and promote your recovery. We assure ourselves, too, it will be some pleasure to you to see that your conduct has had our approbation and firmest support. We can add nothing that will more strongly shew the sense we entertain of it and of your services, than to repeat our earnest request that you will continue another year in the government, to perfect the plan your Lordship has so judiciously formed, and prosecuted with so much zeal and spirit. Your Lordship will excuse our pressing this point so earnestly, when we assure you how essential we deem it to the permanency

Vide page 155.

permanency of our affairs. We need not point out how much yet remains to attain that end. The military seem hardly yet reconciled to that system of economy, without which it is plain no revenue could suffice for the growing expenses of the army." His Lordship's health, however, did not permit of his extending his period of service in India.

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He quitted Bengal in the *Britannia*, on the 29th January, 1767. The Council announced his departure in the following terms: "Lord Clive has found his health so much impaired by his late severe indisposition, that he is under the necessity of returning to England by the first opportunity, and takes his passage on board the *Britannia*. We cannot but regard it as a very happy circumstance, that, at such a juncture, your affairs here have been restored to so favourable a situation, by the plan which his Lordship had adopted, and had pursued with so much steadiness and perseverance." General Carnac returned on board the same ship to England.

Lord Clive
quits India.

On the 17th July, 1767, Lord Clive was introduced to the Court of Directors, when the Chairman, in the name of the Court, expressed their most sincere and hearty congratulations to him on his arrival in his native country, after having exceeded the Court's most sanguine expectations, not only in the very eminent services he had rendered the Company, by his wise and judicious administration

Arrives in
England.
Receives the
expression of
the Court's
grateful sense
of his eminent
services.

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administration of their affairs, during his residence in Bengal, but also by that most prudent and well-formed plan he had digested for the regulation of the conduct of the Select Committee; and that it was impossible by force of words to represent to his Lordship the high sense of gratitude the Court entertained for the constant attention given by his Lordship to the Company's interests.

On the 23d September, the General Court, in consideration of the important services rendered to the Company by Lord Clive, recommended to, and authorized, the Court of Directors to make a grant, under the Company's seal, to his lordship, and his personal representatives, of a further term of ten years on his jaghire. The indenture granting the same was approved and engrossed in October following.

Mr. Verelst succeeded Lord Clive in the government.

The Council, in their despatch to the Court, of February, alluding to the state of the Company's interests in Bengal, observed :

Council's testimony to Lord Clive's merits.

“ We should be wanting in the just praises of superior merit, and in gratitude for the essential services performed by Lord Clive, if we failed to acknowledge that, to the prudence and vigour of his administration, you are chiefly to ascribe the present flourishing condition of your affairs. Firm and indefatigable in his pursuits, he joined, to the weight of personal character, a zeal for your service,

vice, and a knowledge of your interests, which could not but insure success."

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They then drew a comparison between the state of the country on his Lordship's arrival, in 1765, and that in which he left it on his departure for England, in January, 1767 :

Comparison of
the state of the
country when
Lord Clive ar-
rived and when
he left.

“ We beheld a Presidency divided, headstrong and licentious ; a government without nerves ; a treasury without money, and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit. We may add that, amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty, and oppression. /

“ Such was the condition of this presidency and of these provinces. Your present situation need not be described. The liberal supplies to China, the state of your treasury, of your investment, of the service, and of the whole country, declare it to be the strongest contrast to what it was.

“ We repeat,” added the Committee, “ what we have already declared to Lord Clive, that no motive, no consideration, shall ever induce us to depart from that system of politics which has been recommended to us by precept and example, unless some very extraordinary event and unforeseen change should occur in the posture of your affairs.”

One of the Company's covenanted servants, and

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all the officers who had subscribed an address to Sir Robert Fletcher, after he had been cashiered by sentence of a court-martial, were dismissed by the Council from the Company's service.

Shah Abdallah.

In the month of March, the Council, having received undoubted intelligence of the advance of Shah Abdallah towards Delhi, (supposed to be instigated by Cossim Ally Khan,) took measures to support the King and Shuja Dowla, against whose territories the expedition was intended to have been ultimately directed. They felt that it was impossible to remain inactive spectators of an invasion which threatened to overwhelm the political system of all India. Nothing but the Company's influence prevented the King from making undue submission. Their demonstrations had the desired effect. Abdallah returned to Lahore, having compromised, for the sum of twenty-five lacs, his demands on the native powers. In his retreat, he experienced great obstructions from the Seiks, who were stated to be his irreconcilable enemies.

The plan of the Council had been one of defence. They purposely avoided making propositions to the Jauts, the Rohillas, or the Mahrattas, that they might stand clear from all troublesome engagements, considering the Company's security "to consist in the continuance of the balance of power, which it was their great object to maintain in India."

The

The many unforeseen dangers and sudden irruptions, to which the Company's possessions in Bengal were continually exposed, induced the Council to press for the completion of the military establishment proposed by Lord Clive.* "That being maintained, the Company's revenues and possessions would be defended against the most considerable powers of the country."

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The Mahratta leaders, Ragonaut Rao and Janojee, the chief of Nagpore, having reconciled their differences, the expectation of acquiring Cuttack was rendered hopeless, and led to a suspicion that a junction would take place between the Soubah, Hyder, and the Mahrattas, against Bengal; but as affairs were in a state of tranquillity, the Council resolved to give every possible aid to the Madras Presidency, in the hope that the power of Hyder might be reduced.

Mahrattas.

The King and Shuja Dowla were represented to be "more united to us, both by inclination and interest." Sensible that the security of their possessions, as well as the degree of consideration they held in the empire, depended upon our friendship, they were desirous to govern their conduct by principles the most likely to promote an amicable understanding with the Company. The third brigade was stationed with them, at their request, and a detachment from the second brigade had

Sentiments of
the King and
Vizier towards
the Company.

* Letter to Court, 10th April, 1767.

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had crossed the Caramnassa, with the view of supporting what the Council felt to be the basis of the Company's alliance with the King and the Nabob, they agreeing to defray all extra charges : so that the Company incurred no extraordinary expense by the motion of these troops beyond the limits of the provinces. Chunagurwas garrisoned by the Company's forces. The Council added : "it is nevertheless our intention to recall all your forces, and punctually to observe your directions, whenever the disturbances which now prevail among the neighbouring powers will not endanger our own safety."

The Jauts.

Jewaher Sing, the chief of the Jauts, was at the head of an army, endeavouring to recover the territory of which he had been dispossessed by the Mahrattas. He entered the Rohilla country, and advanced within a few miles of the King's dominions. Colonel Smith was directed to remain with the third brigade until his intentions were more fully developed.

The Council received, in the month of April, a pressing invitation from the Rajah of Nepaul, for aid against the Rajah of Goorcullah, * by whom he had been deprived of his country, and shut up in his capital. Although they felt that such a military enterprize was foreign to the system of politics by which they proposed to regulate their conduct,

* Now known as the *Goorkah Rajah*.

conduct, they determined, after much deliberation, to send an expedition to Nepaul in support of the Rajah, between whose country and that of Bahar an advantageous trade had been carried on, and a considerable quantity of gold imported into Bengal. It was observed, that the vicinity of Nepaul to the Bettea country, which was in quiet possession of the Vizier, would bring additional commercial advantages; so that the Council entertained very flattering prospects of the issue of an expedition, of which "they hoped to send home a good account at the close of the season."*

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Expedition to
Nepaul.

Their anticipations were not realized. Captain Kinloch, who had been entrusted with the command, found it necessary to apply for reinforcements, without which he did not expect to succeed. This requisition occurring at the moment when the aid was required in support of the operations against Hyder, the expedition was recalled. Part of the lands belonging to the Goorcullah Rajah, bordering on the Bettea country, both rich and fertile, were kept to indemnify the charge already incurred.

Failure of ex-
pedition.

The Mahratta chief, Janojee, in demanding the *chout*, which had been regularly paid during the latter part of Aliverdy Khan's government, manifested a desire to treat for the cession of Cuttack to the Company. The President had several conferences

Proposed ces-
sion of Cut-
tack.

* Letter, 25th September, 1767.

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ferences with Janojee's vakeel, in conjunction with Mahomed Reza Khan, who had arrived at the Presidency. The annual payment, for the cession and the *chout*, it was proposed to fix at sixteen lacs, to be accounted for from the time the Company took charge of the Dewanny. An arrangement was prepared, but never finally acted upon. The object of the Council was to form a complete chain of the Company's influence and dominion, from the banks of the Caramnassa to the extremity of the Coast of Coromandel.

Chain of Com-
pany's influ-
ence.

Revenues in
Bahar.

In noticing the state of the revenues in Bahar, the Council remarked upon the small balance which was irrecoverable ; and pointed out the great advantages anticipated from the tour of inspection and examination by the Company's servants selected for that duty "in Bahar, and in the Dinagepore and Purnea countries." The Zemindars were stated to have been guilty of frauds, embez- zlements, and even crimes of an atrocious character.

Court's views
as to policy
abroad.

The Court of Directors communicated to the Council at Calcutta their sentiments on the leading points in the advices from Bengal. They en- joined the Council :—

To promote
happiness of
the natives.

"Not to increase the revenues by any way which may oppress the inhabitants, whose hap- piness and prosperity we are desirous of cultivating upon every occasion, as it is upon their affections and confidence the permanency of our possessions will greatly depend.

"Never

“Never to extend your possessions beyond their present bounds.

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Keep within
present bounds.

“Never to engage in a march to Delhi, nor enter into an offensive war, unless urged to it in pursuance of our treaty with the King and Shuja Dowla for the preservation of their dominions; and whenever called upon to march any troops for that purpose, to have Allahabad, Chunar, or some fortification, put in our possession.

“If these rules are strictly adhered to, we shall flatter ourselves our power and advantages in Bengal will obtain that permanency we have so long laboured at.

“We have paid much attention to your negotiations with Janojee for settling the *chout* on the terms agreed between the Mahrattas and Aliverdy Khan. We think it both equity and sound policy to pay them their *chout*, and shall much approve it, if it can be done on the terms you mention, of their ceding to us their possessions in Orissa, which would join our Bengal possessions to the Circars, and would afford us the means of preventing any hostile attempts of an European enemy who might land in that part of Orissa.

As to obtaining
Orissa from the
Mahrattas.

“From what appears in your proceedings, we think we discern too great an aptness to confederacies or alliances with the Indian powers: on which occasion, we must give it you as a general sentiment, that perfidy is too much the characteristic of Indian princes, for us to rely on any security with

Caution as to
alliances with
Indian powers

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with them. But should you enter into a treaty to act in concert with them in the field, one of our principal officers is to command the whole : a pre-eminence our own security and our superior military skill will entitle us to.)

Troops at Alla-
habad.

“ As all our views and expectations are confined within the Caramnassa, we are impatient to hear our troops are recalled from Allahabad.

“ As it seems not impossible that Shuja Dowla may undertake to escort the King to Delhi, it becomes necessary we should give you our idea of the proper conduct to be held on that occasion, which entirely coincides with Lord Clive’s opinion in his letter to the Select Committee, that to march any part of our army on such an expedition might bring on the total ruin of our affairs ; and we add, that, should you be persuaded into so rash and dangerous a measure, we shall deem you responsible for all the consequences ; and as such a measure would be attended with the greatest danger to our affairs, be assured we shall be extremely jealous of every one high in our service, civil or military, who shews a tendency to such an expedition.

“ The only precautions we would recommend against Shuja Dowla’s military progress, are, to prevent Europeans as much as possible from engaging in his service, and to be very watchful that no cannon, fire-arms, or artillery stores, find their way by the Ganges into his dominions.

“ Every

“ Every method must be tried to get Monsieur Gentil, and every European, from his country, observing to use therein such means as shall not hurt the dignity or independency of Shuja Dowla, or leave room for the French to construe them as violations of the friendship between the two crowns.”*

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“ As we look with a favourable eye on every attempt for the extension of commerce, we do not disapprove the expedition to Nepaul, and are sorry it failed of success. You did right not to renew the expedition till the state of your forces would better admit of it, and to hold in your possession lands taken from the Goorkah Rajah, as an indemnification for the expenses we had been put to; and they may be of use, should it hereafter be thought proper to renew the attempt, and we hope their amount has answered your expectations.” †

The extent of the French forces in the Indian seas was brought to the notice of the Court by the Council, who stated that ten ships were expected from France, seven of which, the French alleged, were either to be sold or to remain in India. Four thousand of his most Christian Majesty's troops were at the islands, and more were anticipated. “ So alarming a force, at a place from whence

French influence.

* Letter to Bengal, 16th March, 1768.

† Letter to Bengal, 11th November, 1768.

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whence it is very difficult to procure the least information of their designs has induced us to have a very vigilant eye over our fortifications. It requires no great depth of judgment to foresee, that the assembling such a number of forces at the French islands can bode no good to your settlements in India. Nor are we without apprehensions, that, whenever the French are in a condition to cope with our nation in Europe, they will make some attempt on India: and even this may happen previous to a declaration of war, as, from the situation of the islands, they are masters of their own time and operations." A similar impression was entertained by the Council at Madras.

The following outline gives the position of the Company, towards the different powers of Hindostan, by whom the public tranquillity might have been essentially disturbed at that period.

Review of the
powers of Hin-
dostan.

The first great cause of British security was attributed to the general indigence of the Mogul empire, produced in a great measure by the invasion of Nadir Shah,* which gave a mortal blow to the overgrown wealth and arrogance of the Omrahs; but its effects were not immediately felt beyond the capital. The irruption of the Mahrattas ensued. Their undistinguishing rapine plunged cities and countries on the south side of the Ganges, from

near

* In 1739.

near the frontier of Bahar on the east, to Sirhind on the north and west, into misery and distress, The expedition of Shah Abdallah followed: his operations were principally confined to the Punjab, yet the vast sums he levied were felt severely throughout the country. The decrease of specie produced a decay of trade and a diminution of cultivation. Although that cause was somewhat mitigated in the Company's provinces by the importation of bullion, yet in Benares and Mirzapore, the fact appeared to be beyond dispute. The financial means of the several powers being very limited, new levies were made by each, when hostilities against any were contemplated, the die being cast on a single campaign; their resources not admitting of their maintaining a second. The circumstance which tended to the security of the Company, was the discordancy of the principles, views, and interests of those neighbouring powers.

The majority of the princes of Hindostan had no natural right in the countries which they possessed. In the general wreck of the monarchy, every man seized what fortune threw in his way, and was rather studious to maintain it than to grasp at more. Hence the principal disturbances were to be traced to the Mahrattas, the Seiks, and Shah Abdallah, whose views were extended more to plunder than territorial acquisitions. Thus situated, it was in the power of the Company, with a watchful and active administration,

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The Native
princes.

to

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to hold the general balance of Hindostan, and crush any combination. Allahabad was pointed out as the key of the surrounding territories. Its vicinity to the several countries of Shuja Dowla, the Rohillas, Jauts, and Mahrattas, accordingly determined the Council to retain a brigade out of the Company's provinces.

The King of
Delhi.

The King, Shah Alum, retained little of the authority or dominions of his ancestors, but what he derived from the Company.

Shuja Dowla.

Shuja Dowla was the next ally of the Company, and, if gratitude could bind any man, the Company had the strongest hold upon him. His dominions, excepting the zemindarry of Bulwunt Sing, were on the north of the Ganges, and extended to the hills. He was considered well fitted to accomplish the Company's main point, of maintaining themselves as the umpires of Hindostan, rather than an enemy who, from his strength or situation, could occasion them any uneasiness or trouble.

Rohillas.

The Rohilla chiefs held districts immediately contiguous to those of the King and Shuja Dowla. The principal ones were Ahmed Khan Bungish, Hafez Rahmet Khan, and Nijib-ul-Dowla, besides several of less importance, such as Dunedy Khan, Surdar Khan, &c. Though all were independent of each other, yet they derived their power from one stock, being of one tribe, that of Ally Mahomed Khan. Their joint forces were estimated at eighty thousand effective horse and foot. Their
native

made great progress in the new levies of troops; that he had invited auxiliaries into his service when tranquillity seemed to reign throughout the empire; that he was forming connexions with foreign powers, and had established a foundry, which already supplied him with a great quantity of cannon for field service; and his "amazing improvement in making small arms," by no means inferior to the best imported into India, combined to impress the Council with the necessity of arriving at some degree of certainty as to his future designs.

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The line of policy to be observed towards Shuja Dowla was brought under the consideration of the Select Committee at the close of July.

No difference of opinion existed as to the necessity of some decided measures being taken to curb the ambitious spirit of the Vizier. His object was to obtain possession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad. In order to gain over Colonel Smith, in promoting its attainment, he visited that officer in the early part of the year at Allahabad, and "proffered him four lacs of rupees in ready money, and to swear secresy on the Alcoran, if he would aid in its accomplishment."*

At an interview which Colonel Smith had subsequently with the King, his Majesty stated with emotion,

* Secret Consultations, 3d August, 1768.

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peace, and their undaunted defenders in the field. Proud of their ancient glory, they disdained to fly, and rushed with intrepidity to certain death or victory. It was stated, that, in a late engagement with the Jauts, their horse rode up through the fire of ninety pieces of cannon and all the musketry of the sepoys, till they came to swords, and, though thrice repulsed, renewed the attack, and were ultimately successful.

Seiks.

The Seiks' country commenced as far west as Sirhind. Their distance was thought to render it almost needless to mention them. Their rise was most extraordinary, from the lowest ebb of national weakness to a respectable power: their tribe, originally not more than ten thousand, amounting to eighty thousand fit for arms, possessing all the fertile country between Sirhind and Attok. Their power to repel or even to ruin an invader, was evinced in Shah Abdallah's expedition.

Such is the outline of the powers, exclusive of the Mahrattas, with which the Company had to deal at that period. In Bengal, a maintenance of a good understanding with the whole, was considered to be the wisest course of policy; and the Company's united force and means, the best preservative of peace.

Conduct of the
Vizier suspi-
cious.

Suspicious had been excited, at the commencement of this year, regarding the views and intentions of the Vizier. In the months of July and August, reports reached the Council that he had
made

made great progress in the new levies of troops; that he had invited auxiliaries into his service when tranquillity seemed to reign throughout the empire; that he was forming connexions with foreign powers, and had established a foundry, which already supplied him with a great quantity of cannon for field service; and his "amazing improvement in making small arms," by no means inferior to the best imported into India, combined to impress the Council with the necessity of arriving at some degree of certainty as to his future designs.

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* Secret Consultations, 3d August, 1768.

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emotion, that the Vizier had applied to him for the same purpose, but without success; adding, “it should seem Shuja Dowla did not wish him to have an habitation of his own on the face of the earth.”

Colonel Smith animadverted upon the delay which had occurred in adopting measures against Shuja Dowla. The President considered that no material inconvenience had arisen from delay, and on the 3d August recorded a minute, in which he proposed that the Vizier should be required, in the presence of the King, to reduce his forces within a given number, and that his Majesty’s injunctions should be previously ensured to the same effect.

Colonel Smith was opposed to the President’s plan. From the knowledge which he had, both of the King and the Vizier, he apprehended that a war would prove the unavoidable consequence; for, if the King should require of Shuja Dowla to disband any part of his forces, his haughty disposition would induce him to treat such orders with contempt, or he might answer, as Jewaher Sing had lately answered to an order of the King, “that when his Majesty shall regulate the twenty-two Soubahs of this empire, he will not be among the latest to shew obedience.” Colonel Smith suggested, that a letter might be so framed as to press upon the Vizier, in friendly but forcible terms, the views and opinions of the Council, and that an embassy should accompany it, which he had

had no doubt would effectually accomplish their desire: he likewise proposed, that the second brigade should move to the Caramnassa.

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After much discussion, and also differences of opinion as to the powers assumed by Colonel Smith in his military capacity, the Select Committee resolved, on the 17th August, to address two letters to the Vizier, and appointed a deputation, consisting of Mr. Cartier and Colonel Smith, members of the Select Committee, and Mr. Claude Russell, member of council, to proceed to the Vizier at Allahabad.

Deputation to
the Vizier.

The first letter stated that the Council urged a reduction of his forces, in order that all apprehensions as to the maintenance of a good understanding between him and the Company might be removed. The second letter was to be presented in the event of the first failing to gain the Vizier's consent to the proposed reduction, after the King's commands had been issued to him for that purpose.

To alleviate the odium he might incur from a diminution of his forces, it was proposed that the supernumeraries should be tendered as recruits to the Company's brigades. Nothing was to be omitted which might lead to an amicable adjustment. They were likewise instructed to represent to the King and Shuja Dowla, the necessity of providing a fund for the payment of the troops at Allahabad, and to suggest, that two or

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Deputation to
Vizier.

three circars belonging to the Soubah of Allaha-
bad, of which the Hindooput Rajah had possessed
himself, should be obtained for that purpose.

The deputation reached Benares on the 17th
November. The Vizier arrived there the follow-
ing day, having declined the meeting at Allaha-
bad. At the first conference, Shuja Dowla mani-
fested every disposition to fall in with the views
of the deputation; but at the next and subsequent
interviews he evinced a totally different feeling.
He enlarged on the state of his troops in former
times; he insisted that he was not restricted to
any particular number; that he had in no shape
infringed the last treaty, and that it was surprising
it should now be thought necessary to limit his
forces. The same demand he observed might, with
equal justice, be made on the Rohillas. The de-
putation, finding all expostulation vain, delivered
the Committee's letter to the Vizier. After much
discussion, he declared, with firmness, that he
never would willingly reduce his force below
35,000 men, of which 8,000 should be horse.
The low state of the Company's treasury, the
arrears due to the troops, the situation of affairs
on the coast, where success depended on supplies
from Bengal, and the tenour of the Court's orders,
made the Council most anxious to avoid all risk
of a war, which might be hazarded by impos-
ing conditions "too mortifying for his haughty
spirit." They therefore consented to the 35,000
men

men being retained ; but stipulated the various bodies of which that force should consist. To this the Vizier would not accede. The sepoy were fixed at 7,000 only ; he insisted upon 10,000. Having arranged for the regular troops, he proposed that the irregulars, together with the mode of discipline, should be left to his option, and intimated his intention to go down to Calcutta, unless the point was conceded.

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The tone assumed by the Vizier induced the deputation to break off the negotiation, and to announce their intention to proceed to the royal presence on the ensuing morning. This intimation had the desired effect. Shuja Dowla sent a message the following day to the deputation, when departing for Allahabad, stating that he was afraid they “had not rightly understood him.” The deputation replied through Captain Harper, who came from the Vizier, that unless he acquiesced in what they had proposed, a further meeting was needless, and that they should persevere in their resolution to proceed to Allahabad. This communication produced a concession on the part of the Vizier to the modified terms. An agreement was drawn out and signed on the 19th November, confirming the former treaty, and stipulating that he should not entertain a greater number than 35,000 men, of which 10,000 were to be cavalry ; ten battalions of sepoy ; the Nujib regiment, 5,000, with matchlocks, to remain always

Negotiation
with Vizier.

1768. at its then establishment; five hundred for the
 BENGAL. artillery, and that number never to be exceeded;
 the remaining 9,500 were to be irregulars, neither
 to be clothed, armed, or disciplined, “after the
 manner of English sepoy.” So long as the Vi-
 zier adhered to these articles, no matter was to be
 introduced in addition to what had been now
 agreed to. The arrangement was fully approved
 by the Council at Calcutta, who passed a resolu-
 tion of thanks, on the 25th January, to the depu-
 tation for their services. The Nabob accompanied
 the deputies to Allahabad, and was received in
 theroyal presence in quality of Vizier.

The views of the Directors on the proceedings
 of the Council were despatched to Bengal in the
 following year.

Court's views
 on the proceed-
 ings as to Shuja
 Dowla.

“We have constantly enjoined you to avoid
 every measure that might lead you into further
 connexions, and have recommended you to use
 your utmost endeavour to keep peace in Bengal
 and with the neighbouring powers; and you, on
 your part, have not been wanting in assurances of
 your resolution to conform to these our wishes.

“Yet, in the very instructions which you have
 given to the deputies sent up to Shuja Dowla with
 professions of friendship, you have inserted an
 article, which will not only give fresh cause of
 jealousy to Shuja Dowla, but engages you like-
 wise in disputes with other powers still more
 distant.

“We

“ We mean the article whereby they are directed to apply to the King for a grant of two or three circars, which belonged, you say, originally to the Eliabad province, but were unlawfully possessed, some time since, by the Hindooput Rajah.

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“ Is it our business to inquire into the rights of the Hindooput Rajah, and the usurpations he may have made upon others? And, supposing the fact to be proved, does such an injustice on his part give us any claim to the disputed districts?

“ If the districts in question belong to the Eliabad province, they are a part of Shuja Dowla’s undoubted inheritance; and supposing him to waive his right, you cannot send a man nor a gun for defence of these new acquisitions without passing through his country, which will be a perpetual source of dispute and complaint.

“ Nor does the mischief stop here. The Hindooput Rajah, who, by all accounts, is rich, will naturally endeavour to form alliances, to defend himself against this unexpected attack of the English. Then you will say your honour is engaged, and the army is to be led against other powers still more distant.

“ You say nothing in your letters of this very essential article of your instructions to the deputies.”*

“ In several of our letters, since we have been engaged

* Letter to Bengal, 11th May, 1769.

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engaged as principals in the politics of India, and particularly during the last two or three years, we have given it as our opinion, that the most prudent system we could pursue, and the most likely to be attended with a permanent security to our possessions, would be to incline to those few chiefs of Hindoostan, who yet preserve an independence of the Mahratta power, and are in a condition to struggle with them; for so long as they are able to keep up that struggle, the acquisitions of the Company will run the less risk of disturbance.

“ The Rohillas, the Jauts, the Nabob of the Deccan, the Nabob of Oude, and the Mysore chief, have each in their turn kept the Mahrattas in action, and we wish them still to be able to do it; it is, therefore, with great concern we see the war continuing with Hyder Naigue, and a probability of a rupture with Shuja Dowla and Nizam Ally. In such wars, we have everything to lose, and nothing to gain: for, supposing our operations be attended with the utmost success, and our enemies reduced to our mercy, we can only wish to see them restored to the condition from which they set out; that is, to such a degree of force and independence as may enable them still to keep up the contest with the Mahrattas and with each other. It would give us therefore, the greatest satisfaction to hear that matters are accommodated, both at Bengal and on the coast: and in case such a happy event shall have taken place,

place, you will do your utmost to preserve the tranquillity.”

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Differences
with the French
at Chanderna-
gore.

In July, 1769, the proceedings of the French led to a belief that they meditated some movement against the Company's settlements. Under the plea of repairing a drain round the town of Chandernagore, to prevent the effects of inundations, which it was represented had proved fatal to the inhabitants, they carried the works to such an extent as to create strong suspicions. A field-officer was accordingly deputed from Calcutta, in a public capacity, for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the state of the works. The result satisfied the Council that their suspicions were too well founded. The proceeding was an infraction of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris; and having remonstrated ineffectually, they required that the works should be destroyed. The French not only refused compliance with the requisition, but carried them on with more vigour; in consequence of which, the Council gave peremptory orders for their demolition. This, and subsequent acts regarding the French in Bengal, gave rise to representations from the French Court to that of St. James's. The arrangements projected for adjusting the difference,† will be found to have involved the Company's representatives in

serious

* Letter to Bengal, 30th June, 1769.

† Letter to Bengal from the Court of Directors, 27th June 1770:

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Mogul deter-
mines to pro-
ceed to Delhi.

serious discussions, with the accredited agent on the part of the Crown.

Council resolve
to aid his views.

The President, when at Bauleah, in the month of May, received a letter from the Mogul, announcing his determination to proceed forthwith to Delhi, with the troops of his Vizier, in order to take possession of the throne and dominions of his ancestors, and applying for the aid of two battalions of sepoys and some field-pieces, agreeably to an alleged promise of Lord Clive, whenever he should march towards his capital. The Council considered the intended requisition favourable to the recall of the forces from Allahabad. Having, therefore, deliberated on the orders of the Court, they determined to grant the King the aid which he requested. At the moment when the enterprise was to be commenced, the King's minister, Munerah-ud-Dowlah, on returning from the royal durbar, was accosted within the precincts of the palace by his majesty's guards, who, in a tumultuous manner, demanded an increase of pay and the arrears then due. The reply of the Nabob being

1770:—"His Majesty has constituted Sir John Lindsay his plenipotentiary for examining into the supposed infractions of the late treaty of peace, you will afford him the necessary information and assistance, whereby he may be enabled to answer the complaints of the French plenipotentiary, to justify your conduct, and to defend those rights of the British Crown which were obtained by express stipulation in the Treaty of Paris, and which appear to have been invaded by the proceedings of the French at Chandernagore."

being unsatisfactory, one of the inferior officers drew his sword, with an intent to destroy him, and would have effected his purpose, but for a faithful Coffrey, who exposed his own life to save that of the Nabob ; the latter escaped, but six of his followers fell a sacrifice. The King sent for General Smith : on enquiry, it did not appear that any arrears were due, and there was strong reason to believe it to be a design formed by some people of rank to destroy the Nabob. Munerah-ud-Dowla shortly after retired from the Court, with the permission of the King, and resided at Patna.

At the same time, three of the best battalions in Shuja Dowla's service took up arms against him. They were repelled, and a severe example was made by the Vizier, who conducted himself with great energy. The event lessened his confidence in his troops, and tended to reconcile him to the reduction to which he had been constrained to submit. Upon being urged to dismiss from his presence M. Gentil, in accordance with the promise which he had made to the Council, he stated, " that if it was insisted upon, he should comply ; but that, at a time when the hand of adversity was upon him, when all those whom he had clothed and fed forsook him, when he was abandoned by his own countrymen and by those of the same religion, this man, who was a stranger, of a different nation and different religion, forgot him not, but partook of his misfortunes.

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Vizier's troops
revolt.Vizier's appeal
in favour of
M. Gentil.

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tunes. What a reflection will it then be upon me, if I am obliged to chase this man from my dominions! Assure the English chiefs, that I will be responsible that he shall never do any thing to their prejudice; the moment I discover such intention, he loses my friendship: at the same time, I will consider it as a mark of theirs, if they will not urge the performance of my promise concerning him." The Council abstained from urging the performance of the promise. Circumstances arose which cast a doubt upon the sincerity of the Vizier's declaration, but the result proved that it was made in good faith. The Vizier subsequently declared to the Company's officer commanding their troops, that should hostilities commence between the French and English, he should feel it unbecoming in him to entertain any man who was the enemy of our nation. He desired that this resolution might not be communicated to the Council, as he was determined to take such a course without any requisition on their part, in order that he might have the merit of it.

Mogul defers
proceeding to
Delhi.

These occurrences led the King to postpone his movement towards Delhi. The Company's troops were withdrawn, by the month of September, from Allahabad. The Council stated: "Nothing but the obligations to support our national faith, or to provide for the actual supply of these provinces, shall induce us to march your troops beyond the Caramnassa."

Brigadier

Brigadier General Smith resigned in November, being succeeded in the command of the forces by Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker. In December, Mr. Verelst relinquished the President's chair to Mr. Cartier.

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Mr. Cartier
succeeds to
Mr. Verelst.

The Vizier, notwithstanding his former hatred of Munerah-ud-Dowla, now earnestly entreated the King to reinstate him in his councils. His motives for so doing were not very apparent. It was surmised that, by removing all suspicion, he thought that he should the better secure his own supremacy: if such was the fact his dissimulation attained his object. The King was inexorable in his determination not to recall the Nabob; upon which Shuja Dowla repaired to the presence, embraced the lucky moment, and was invested with every honour and authority, both nominal and real. This unexpected reconciliation between the King and the Vizier, received additional strength from the marriage which was shortly to be celebrated between one of the royal princes and his Excellency's daughter. Munerah-ud-Dowla had invariably opposed the expedition to Delhi. The King, by the confidence which he now reposed in Shuja Dowla, placed himself entirely in his hands.

Shuja Dowla
reinstated in
the Mogul's
confidence.

At this period, Cossim Ally Khan* emerged from the obscurity in which he had so long remained,
and

Cossim Ally
Khan.

* *Vide* page 92.

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BENGAL.

and became once more an actor on the political stage of Hindostan. It was stated, that the Ranee of Gohud had invited him to reside at Gwalior, as a place better fitted for his schemes than the country of the Rohillas. A Mahratta army was hovering between the country of the Rajpoots and Jauts, and a large body of Seiks was in the neighbourhood of Paniput; Nujib-ud-Dowla was in the field, and the divisions amongst the Jauts grew more inveterate. This state of things necessarily obliged the Council to keep a watchful eye on the course of events. Although the movements of Cossim terminated without any important result, it appeared that the King, who was the mere puppet of the Vizier, had been in correspondence with him, and that his Majesty's regard towards the Company had evidently diminished.

The Nabob of Bengal, Syoof-ud-Dowla, died in March, of the small-pox, which raged with great violence at Moorshedabad. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Maborek-ud-Dowla, about ten years of age. Rajah Bulwunt Sing died at Benares on the 23d August, and was succeeded by his son Cheyt Sing.

1770.

Mahrattas'
hostile demon-
stration.

The Mahrattas were at this time the cause of serious apprehension to the Council. From their forces having continued so long a period on the borders of the country of the Rajpoots, it was supposed that they were satiated with plunder, and would have retreated, as usual, on the commencement

mencement of the hot weather, and repass the Nerbudda. Instead of such a course, they pursued their conquests. The whole of the territories of the Jauts to the south of the Jumna, and between that river and the Ganges, submitted to their arms, excepting the forts of Deeg and Agra, which, it was stated, they never could hope to possess, but by voluntary submission or treachery: a circumstance that would, at all events, present a check to their progress. The treasure deposited in these forts was supposed to amount to many crores, and all that was wanted to apply it with effect was a more able and more resolute leader of the Jauts than Null Sing. Amidst the whole of the movements, the Mahrattas did not manifest any hostile designs against the Company's provinces: but a project was formed for the purpose of raising up a new king, in opposition to Shah Alum, who was considered a prisoner in the hands of the Company: but to this project even two of the Mahratta generals refused their concurrence. The King evinced apprehensions of the Mahrattas, whilst the conduct of the Vizier was not free from suspicion; as at the moment that the Mahrattas were threatening his frontier, and when he ought to have been prepared to oppose their progress, he was amusing himself in hunting in a distant part of his dominions.

The conduct of the French, notwithstanding the anxious desire evinced by the Council to avoid disputes,

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BENGAL.

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Calcutta mili-
tia.

disputes, continued to give rise to frequent altercations; the former magnifying matters of little moment into affairs of consequence, for the foundation of disputes between the two courts in Europe. As a preparation against any attempts, a militia was formed at Calcutta, composed of the Company's civil servants and the European inhabitants. A naval force was likewise sent from England, to protect the British interests, the whole expense of such aid being borne by the Company.

Mission to
Nepaul.

The Directors having expressed a desire to learn, whether a trade could be opened with Nepaul; and, if cloth and other commodities might not find their way to Thibet, Lhassa, and the western parts of China: the Council deputed Mr. Logan, of the medical service (who had, on a former occasion, accompanied Captain Kinloch,* and was perfect master of the language), to prosecute the inquiry, and furnished him with the necessary credentials to assist him in what they termed a "hazardous enterprize."

The affairs of Bengal having been brought down from Lord Clive's appointment in 1765, to the period when the Special commission of supervision was determined upon by the Company, the proceedings of the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay will be given for the same term, and will comprise the measures in which his Lordship and his successors took part regarding those two settlements.

* *Vide* page 181.

CHAPTER V.

THE Councils, of Calcutta and Madras, had pressed upon the attention of the Home authorities, the importance of establishing a permanent influence in the Northern Circars. The resumption by the French of their possessions in India, under the treaty of peace, led the President of Fort St. George to suggest to Lord Clive the expediency of obtaining from the Mogul sunnuds for the circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore, Mustaphanagur, Chicacole, and Condavir or Guntoor.

1765.
MADRAS.

Northern
Circars.

The circars formed an appendage to the Soubah of the Deccan. Salabat Jung, in 1752, gave Condavir, on the south side of the Kistna, to the French East-India Company, as a perpetual jaghire; and soon after ceded to them the other town north of that river, for the maintenance of the troops in the immediate service of M. Bussy. When Colonel Forde took Masulipatam, and put an end to the authority of the French in the Deccan, all the five circars were restored to the Soubah, who consented, at the same time, that the family of Vizeramrauze should continue in the management

1765.
MADRAS.

management of the Chicacole circar, as a reward for fidelity and attachment to the Company.

The Circar of Condavir, or Guntoor, was also conferred as a jaghire on Bazalet Jung, third brother of Salabat Jung, from which he still received an annual tribute. The other circars had been put under the management of different persons. In 1762, they were offered as a jaghire to the Company, on the same terms as they had been formerly held by the French; but as those terms involved the sending assistance into the Deccan, it was considered too onerous an obligation, and the offer was declined. Hussain Ally acted as the ambassador from the Nizam. From the failure of his mission, he fell into disgrace: but, through the aid of the Nabob of the Carnatic, and the advance of a considerable sum of money, he effected terms, and procured for himself the management of those countries, and at the request of the Nizam was joined* by a detachment of the Company's troops, in expectation of re-establishing a proper government. The zemindar never accounted with any of his managers unless compelled by force, and the country had been generally plundered by the strongest of the contending parties. Hussain Ally, supported by the Company, though with a very small force, got possession of the circars of Rajahmundry, and

Ellore, and Mustaphanagur: having engaged to put the Company in possession of them, whenever required, a reasonable maintenance being secured to him should that event take place.

1765.

MADRAS.

On the 14th October, the Council at Madras advised the Directors, that Lord Clive had, at the instance of Mr. Palk, the President at Fort St. George, obtained sunnuds from the Mogul for the five Northern Circars, and a confirmation of the jaghire granted by the Nabob to the Company. It was judged prudent to defer taking immediate possession of them, as the Council were not aware how far they might be required to send aid in troops to Bengal. The revenues of the Circars, for the next year, had been anticipated by Hussain Ally, to enable him to make good his payments to the Soubah, and support his troops; but the possession of the sunnuds was important, the French being thereby prevented from getting a footing in them.

Sunnuds for
the Circars ob-
tained from the
Mogul.

The Nizam having marched to Berar, General Caillaud was appointed to command the troops: he proceeded in January, and took possession of the Bessoara Pass. The sunnuds, or grants, were published at Masulipatam the 3d of March, and received there with general satisfaction. The fort of Condapilly, which in a great measure secured the pass into the Circars, was carried by assault, on the 7th March. The Council determined to take the countries immediately into their own

1765.
MADRAS.

hands, to receive from the zemindars the outstanding balances, and to use every means for discharging Hussain Ally's troops.

In April, the Directors were advised of the measures adopted for establishing the Company's authority in the Circars, and of the difficulty of prevailing on the Nabob of the Carnatic to remain on terms with Hyder, who had made such extensive conquests on the Malabar coast. "As an instance of the Mysorean's sincerity," the Council stated, "Hyder has consented to surrender to the Nabob the fort of Milpaddy, which guards a pass to the westward of Tinnevely, and was given into the Mysore hands by Moorteis Ally, about the time of the surrender of Vellore."

Differences
between the
Nizam and the
Nabob.

The proceedings of the Madras government created considerable alarm in the mind of the Nizam, who looked upon the Nabob as the cause. To remove this impression, the Council suggested that the Nabob should despatch a proper person, to satisfy the Nizam that he had not the least concern in the transaction. The party deputed was instructed to assure him, that the Council desired to remain on the most friendly terms, that their views extended no further than the possession of the Circars, and in order to settle the treaty more readily, they contemplated negotiating it through the Nabob. Before the party had set out, the Nabob received a letter from the Nizam, and one
also

also from his Dewan, upbraiding him for not having endeavoured to prevent the Council taking possession of the Circars, and recommending him to prevail on them to withdraw their troops.

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MADRAS.

It appeared that the Soubah* was in great want of funds, and that his principal dependence was on Hyder Ally, to whom he had made overtures for assistance. The Council felt that he could not give them much trouble as Hyder's vakeel was at the same moment soliciting the alliance of the Company. Under these circumstances, they judged it best that the Nabob's messenger should proceed, as originally intended, to the Nizam. The latter was deaf to every proposition which wore the least appearance of coming through or from the Nabob. The Council, alive to the importance of securing the Nizam, not only with reference to the growing power of Hyder and his great wealth, but also the Mahrattas and the preservation of a communication with Bengal, resolved to instruct General Caillaud and Mr. Smith to proceed to Hyderabad, to put the Nizam in complete possession of their motives and intentions regarding the Circars, and their proposition for a treaty with him. At this period, the Council received a communication from the Select Committee in Bengal, and the President another from Lord

* The *Soubah* and *Nizam* is the same party, although the two designations may be used indiscriminately.

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Council in
Bengal pro-
pose an alli-
ance with the
Nizam.

Lord Clive, containing a plan for an alliance with the Nizam, and offering to join the Madras force with one entire brigade, in assisting him to settle his government, and to carry into effect a plan which Lord Clive had contemplated on his arrival in India, of regaining possession of Cuttack, situated between Ganjam and Balasore, in order to make the junction of the two presidencies complete.

The proposition appeared well calculated to preserve the Company's possessions and the whole country in peace, and at the same time to form a barrier against the invasions of the Mahrattas, both as regarded Bengal and the Carnatic. The aid which Lord Clive suggested should be proffered to the Nizam, as an inducement for his falling into the views of the Council, consisted of two hundred infantry, one hundred artillery, and three battalions of sepoy. The Council apprized the Bombay Presidency of the measures in contemplation, and remarked, "it is in your power to oblige both the Mahrattas and Mysoreans to attend to their own concerns."

Treaty with
the Nizam.

The treaty, which consisted of fourteen articles, was signed at Hyderabad on the 12th November. It was termed one of alliance and friendship between the Company and the Nizam. The Company, in consideration of the grant of the Circars, engaged to have a body of troops ready to settle the affairs of his Highness's government in every thing

thing that was right and proper, but with liberty to withdraw them, should the state of affairs, or those of the Carnatic, render it necessary. Whenever the troops were not supplied by the Company, or required by the Nizam, the latter was to receive from the Company nine lacs per annum. The Chicacole circar was to be reduced as soon as possible : that of Mustaphanagur having been given by the Nizam to his brother, Bazalet Jung, as a jaghire, the Company were not to take possession of it until his death ; but should he occasion disturbance in the circar, then the Company were to have it in their power to assume it. The diamond mines were to remain in the possession of the Nizam. The fort of Condapilly was to be garrisoned by the Company's troops, a killedar being maintained therein on the part of the Nizam.

The most material clause of the treaty was that which provided for an indefinite support in troops to the Nizam. Upon this point the Council stated that, in the course of the negotiation, General Caillaud had discovered that the Soubah was absolutely determined, in the event of his concluding a treaty, to proceed against Hyder, for which purpose he had engaged the service of the Mahrattas, and stipulated that the Council should co-operate with him in the undertaking.

The view of the Directors on this transaction was communicated to Bengal the 25th March, 1768.

“ We have taken the negotiations and treaty
with

1766.
MADRAS.

Observations
of Court of
Directors on
the treaty.

1766.

MADRAS.

with the Soubah of the Deccan into our most serious consideration, and are much alarmed at the state of your affairs by your last advices. The examination into your proceedings has led to a review of all that has passed on the business of the Circars, from your first entertaining the idea of obtaining possession of them.

(“ The exclusion of the French from the Circars has been our principal view in obtaining them , but we have ever shewn a repugnance to the holding them on the terms of assisting the Soubah with our troops, and such, too, have been your constant sentiments, until 1766.

“ In your letter of the 2d of October, 1761, paragraph 18, your system was, to suffer the contending parties in the Deccan to weaken themselves, and not to grasp at more than you could hold.

“ In the following year, the Soubah, distressed by his war with the Mahrattas, consents to your holding the Circars, on your agreeing to pay him half the revenues of them ; but he revokes the grant the moment his danger from the Mahrattas ceases. In 1764, he is disposed to grant them, on condition of your keeping up a body of troops in the manner the French did ; but when you found it would require so great a force as seven hundred infantry, a company of artillery, and three thousand sepoy, besides a proper force in the Circars, you reject the terms, as inadequate to the expense and danger that may be incurred by them.

“ The

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MADRAS

“The growing greatness of Hyder Ally was but a weak pretence for a junction with the Soubah. We do not conceive you really thought his army, or any country troops in Hindostan, could endanger the Carnatic in a defensive war; but had you entertained such an apprehension, the whole of our experience in the country wars shows how much danger, difficulty, and expense, and how little assistance, is to be derived from any country alliance in a general action, more especially with the Soubah’s army, the most undisciplined rabble of all.

“Upon the same principle, we disapprove Lord Clive’s ideas of a general alliance against the Mahratta powers, and look for safety and success in our own force only, ~~and their divisions.~~ /

“We perceive Lord Clive’s opinion has had great weight; but had that been your guide, you would never have concluded the treaty on the terms you have; for in his Lordship’s letter to Mr. Palk, of the 11th August, he says, he thinks two hundred infantry, a company of artillery, and three battalions of sepoy, sufficient to answer the purpose of supporting the Soubah.

“In your conduct in the negotiations with the Soubah, there is a yielding temper throughout the whole negotiation, which implies a want of firmness in your negociator.

“The general alliance with the Soubah and Mahrattas produced the effect we always shall expect

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MADRAS.

expect from alliances among powers uncontrolled by the law of nations, or any principle to establish good faith among them.

“ The Mahrattas, instead of being reduced, are like to be aggrandized, by their conquest of the Mysore dominions, which brings them so much nearer to the Carnatic. The Soubah’s weakness and indigence seem beyond all relief; and Hyder Ally, if less formidable to the Soubah and the Mahrattas, is more likely to be an enemy to us, and to embrace every opportunity of disturbing the Carnatic.

“ Should the Circars continue in our possession, it must be observed as a general rule, that no European is to interfere in the collection of the revenues, further than to receive the rents from Hussain Ally, or the rajahs who held the districts, and are to account to the chiefs of Masulipatam or Vizagapatam, as you shall direct: neither are they to interfere in the management or the government of the country, farther than to check the renter if guilty of any grievous oppression.

“ Before we leave the subject, we must observe to you, that we think it very extraordinary the whole negotiation with the Soubah should have been conducted by a military officer, unaccompanied by a civil servant. When Mr. Pybus’s illness was known, another should have been immediately appointed, for it is highly displeasing to

us,

us, and contrary to our orders, that a military officer should be alone employed in negociations of our commercial or political interest."

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MADRAS.

It has already been seen that the conduct of Hyder, on the Malabar coast, led the Council at Bombay to apprehend a rupture between him and the Company.

At Madras, nothing more was heard of him until the month of July, when he informed the Council that he had sent for his vakeel. This circumstance created suspicion, it being at the same time confidently reported, that he had solicited and received from the Nizam a sunnud for the Carnatic. This was in a degree confirmed by his having suddenly quitted his conquests on the Malabar coast, and proceeded to Seringapatam, where, it was stated, he had placed a child upon the throne, and then posted his army at Coimbatore, near the confines of Caroor.* Notwithstanding these movements, the Council were assured by a vakeel from Hyder, that he desired nothing more than to live in perfect friendship with the Company, and for this purpose he requested an English gentleman might be sent to him to settle terms. Mr. Bouchier, a member of the Council, was deputed for the purpose, and set out with the vakeel. When he reached Arcot, he was desired

Proceedings
of Hyder.

to

* This is explained by the report which had reached the Bombay Council, of his having adopted the son of Chunda Saib.

1766.
MADRAS. to wait for answers from Hyder regarding the place of their interview. He was afterwards informed that Hyder had ordered the vakeel to go to him alone. Mr. Bouchier returned to Madras, and reported to the Council that the vakeel, on quitting him, had stated that he had received a letter from his master disapproving of an English gentleman coming to him.

Council determines on hostilities with Hyder.

The Council considered the whole conduct of Hyder to be very questionable. When they reflected upon his immense conquests, his great riches, and the power which he had established, added to his pride and ambition, they felt that no opportunity should be lost to reduce that power within its ancient and proper bounds, and to check the intentions of a man, who, by his violence and oppression, had rendered himself obnoxious to all the country governments, and dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the Carnatic. They therefore, viewed the resolution taken by the Nizam to be a very important circumstance,* and resolved to assist him with such a force as would insure success, and at the same time satisfy the Nizam of the sincerity of their intentions. Information of the bearing of the Nizam towards Hyder was despatched to Bombay, that the President and the Council there might take the necessary measures for securing the

* *Vide* page 213.

the Company's possessions on that side, and be prepared to make use of their forces in the event of a rupture, in which case they concluded that many of the powers of the Malabar coast would be ready to embrace the opportunity of recovering their ancient possessions.

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MADRAS.

Having reason to believe that the treaty with the Nizam had been concluded, the Council, in November, required Sitteramrauze, who had been backward with his kists, to state whether he would submit to the Company's government by keeping up his agreement. The situation of Vizagapatam, in the midst of the Chicacole circar, being well calculated to preserve the country in obedience, the Council contemplated placing it in a state of security against any country enemy. They originally intended to have taken the other circars into their own management, but, under the advice of General Caillaud, they judged it better to conclude an agreement with Hussain Ally, to rent them for a term of years. The Pittapore Rajah, one of the zemindars of the Rajahmundry district, "being unwilling to submit to the reasonable demands of Hussain Ally," the Council determined to send a force beyond that stipulated to be paid for, in order to reduce the zemindar to obedience.

Circars.

They advised the Court of Directors of the whole of the foregoing measures, in their despatch of the 22d January. On the 20th of that month, Colonel Smith had an audience of the Nizam, in camp near Hyderabad,

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1767.
MADRAS.

Vacillating
conduct of the
Soubah.

Hyderabad, when he proposed moving to the banks of the Kistna, where he expected the Company's troops. The whole joined the Nizam on the 19th. In the month of March, the Council, believing that Hyder had been using means to induce the Soubah "to make up matters," and that the latter had been in communication with the Mahrattas, attempted, but without success, to discover whether such was the fact. In order to strengthen the hands of Colonel Smith, Mr. Bouchier was sent to join in the endeavour to bring the Nizam to a determination. They were at the same time obliged to march a force into the Madura and Tinnevely districts, to subdue some refractory Polygars, who not only defied the Nabob's managers, but had defeated a small body of military sent against them. After much negociation, the Nabob consented to discharge the whole of the "useless rabble," of which his troops consisted, and to depend entirely upon the Company's forces for the defence and security of his possessions.

Soubah dis-
posed to join
Hyder.

The Nizam continued not only to act with indecision, but even treated the Company's commanders and troops with disregard. In the interim, the Mahrattas settled their affairs with Hyder, and it soon became apparent that a negociation was in progress between Hyder and the Nizam, the latter wavering only as to the amount which he was to receive for breaking with the Company.

These events present a true picture of eastern intrigue

intrigue and deception. A few weeks had scarcely elapsed since the Soubah had been resolute in adopting measures to reduce Hyder's power, and now he is found forming an alliance with that ambitious chief, and abusing his connexion with the Company.

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MADRAS.

The greater portion of the Company's force was accordingly withdrawn, with the consent of the Nizam, who engaged to remit the two lacs on account of the Chicacole circar, and likewise to give to the Company and their troops one-fifth of the money collected from Hyder. The negotiation with Hyder was continued from May to the close of June, when the Nizam's Dewan gave a sunnud to the Company for the remission on account of the Chicacole circar, and bills for a fifth of what Hyder was to pay. These proceedings were but just concluded, when reports reached the Council, that the Nizam with hostile intentions was entering the Carnatic. In July, all doubts were removed upon this point. His army, instead of marching northward, advanced towards Bangalore, and from thence to Oapatavady. At the close of the month, Hyder crossed the river near Seringapatam and proceeded to Bangalore, where, on the 16th August, his main body was joined by the Nizam.

Enters the
Carnatic hos-
tily.

The Council caused all their troops to be forthwith collected and placed under Colonel Smith. Aid was requested from Bengal to secure the Circars,

Measures
against Hyder.

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MADRAS.

cars, and the Council at Bombay were called upon to use their best exertions in assisting the designs against Hyder, whose power it was felt, sooner or later, must be reduced, as the only means of giving peace to the Carnatic and securing the Company's possessions. The Council observed : " It is not only his troublesome disposition and ambitious views now that we have to apprehend, but that he may at a favourable opportunity, or in some future war, take the French by the hand, to re-establish their affairs,—which cannot fail to be of the worst consequence to your possessions on the coast. He has money to pay them, and they can spare and assemble troops at the islands, and it is reported that he has already made proposals by despatches to the French king or Company in Europe."*

The Soubah
and Hyder de-
feated.

On the 26th September, the joint forces of the Soubah and Hyder were defeated by Colonel Smith, who pursued them till within eight miles of the road from Trinomallee to Changama. Sixty pieces of cannon were taken. The want of cavalry prevented his more effectually following up the victory. During the operations, a body of Hyder's horse found means to advance to Choultry Plain. They plundered St. Thomé and the whole of the adjacent villages, carrying off several of the inhabitants, without the Council being able to afford them

Hyder's horse
approach Ma-
dras.

* Letter to Court, 21st September, 1767.

them succour. The Council represented : “ The continual reinforcements we had sent to camp had reduced our garrison so low, we were obliged to confine our attention entirely to the preservation of the Fort and the Black Town, for which purpose it was necessary to arm all the Company’s civil servants, the European inhabitants, Armenians, and Portuguese.” The detachments of the enemy consisted of three or four thousand cavalry, and continued in the bounds until the 29th September, when they moved off. The Council added : “ As it is uncertain when the troubles we are engaged in will end, and as we must in the course of the war expect to have many Europeans sick, we must earnestly request you to send out as large reinforcements as possible.” This despatch reached the Court by the *Hector* on the 22d April, 1768. It was acknowledged in the following terms :—

“ The alarming state of our affairs under your conduct, regarding the military operations against the Soubah of the Deccan, joined with Hyder Ally, and the measures in agitation with the Mah-rattas in consequence thereof, requiring our most immediate consideration, we have therefore determined on this overland conveyance by the way of Bussorah, as the most expeditious way of giving our sentiments to you on those important subjects.

“ In our separate letter of the 25th March, we
gave

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MADRAS.

Court's views
on the opera-
tions against
Hyder.

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gave you our sentiments very fully on your treaty with the Soubah of the Deccan.

“After having for successive years given it as your opinion, confirmed by our approbation, that maintaining an army for the support of the Soubah of the Deccan was endangering the Carnatic, and would tend to involve us in wars, and distant and expensive operations, and the grant of the Circars was not to be accepted on such terms, you at once engage in that support, and send an army superior to that which, in the year 1764, you declared would endanger your own safety.

“The quick succession of important events in Indian wars puts it out of our power to direct your measures. We can only give you the outlines of that system which we judge most conducive to give permanency and tranquillity to our possessions.

“We should have hoped that the experience of what has passed in Bengal would have suggested the proper conduct to you : we mean, when our servants, after the battle of Buxar, projected the extirpation of Shuja Dowla from his dominions, and the giving them up to the King. Lord Clive soon discerned, the King would have been unable to maintain them, and that it would have broken down the strongest barriers against the Mahrattas and the northern powers, and therefore wisely restored Shuja Dowla to his dominions.* Such, too, should be your conduct with respect to the Nizam and

* *Vide* page 143.

and Hyder Ally, neither of whom it is our interest should be totally crushed.

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MADRAS.

“The Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the possessions we hold in those provinces, are the utmost limits of our views on that side of India. On the coast, the protection of the Carnatic and the possession of the Circars, free from all engagements to support the Soubah of the Deccan, or even without the Circars, preserving only influence enough over any country power who may hold them, to keep the French from settling in them; and, on the Bombay side, the dependencies thereon, the possessions of Salsette, Bassein, and the castle of Surat. The protection of these is easily within the reach of our power, and may mutually support each other, without any country alliance whatever. If we pass these bounds, we shall be led on from one acquisition to another, till we shall find no security but in the subjection of the whole, which, by dividing your force, would lose us the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan.

Extent of the
Court's views
as to territorial
possessions.

“Much has been wrote from you and from our servants at Bengal, on the necessity of checking the Mahrattas, which may in some degree be proper; but it is not for the Company to take the part of umpires of Hindostan. If it had not been for the imprudent measures you have taken, the country powers would have formed a balance of power among themselves, and their divisions would have

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MADRAS.

left you in peace ; but if at any time the thirst for plunder should urge the Mahrattas to invade our possessions, they can be checked only by carrying the war into their own country. It is with this view that we last year sent out field-officers to our presidency at Bombay, and put their military force on a respectable footing ; and when once the Mahrattas understand that to be our plan, we have reason to think they will not wantonly attack us.

Offensive wars
and further ac-
quisition to be
avoided.

“ You will observe by the whole tenour of these despatches, that our views are not to enter into offensive wars in India, or to make further acquisitions beyond our present possessions. We do not wish to enter into any engagements which may be productive of enormous expenses, and which are seldom calculated to promote the Company’s essential interests. On the contrary, we wish to see the present Indian powers remain as a check one upon another, without our interfering ; therefore, we recommend to you, so soon as possible, to bring about a peace upon terms of the most perfect moderation on the part of the Company, and when made, to adhere to it upon all future occasions, except when the Company’s possessions are actually attacked ; and not to be provoked by fresh disturbances of the country powers to enter into new wars.”*

The troops were ordered into cantonments during

* Court’s Letter, dated the 13th May, 1768.

ing the rainy season ; preparations being made for resuming the field as soon as the weather would permit. The enemy took advantage of this step, and invested Veniambaddy, of which they got possession on the 8th November, and then laid siege to Amboor. The Council ordered the troops to assemble immediately at Vellore, to preserve the important fortress of Amboor, and to prevent the enemy from again penetrating into the Carnatic. Colonel Smith obliged them to withdraw from Amboor in December, and shortly after defeated them ; Hyder proceeding to Covrapatam, where he fortified his camp. Colonel Smith followed, but abstained, in consequence of Hyder's strong position and the want of provisions, from again attacking him. Hyder, in order to cut off an expected convoy, put himself at the head of a select body of troops, and on the 20th December marched to Singarapettah, in the hope of intercepting it. Colonel Smith immediately detached Major Fitzgerald with some black cavalry and two companies of grenadiers. He fell in with and defeated Hyder, who retired to Tingra Cottah, and ultimately to Bangalore, leaving garrisons in all the forts in the valley. Tingra Cottah surrendered on the 12th February to Colonel Wood, who advanced against Daraporam, into which place Hyder had thrown six hundred of his best sepoys. The garrison stood a storm, in which they suffered greatly. Covrapatam surrendered to Colonel Smith on the

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Operations
against Hyder.

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Nizam desires
terms of ac-
commodation.Treaty with
Soubah.

23d February. The troops under Colonel Wood proceeded to reduce Salem and Ashtour, the possession of which it was felt would greatly tend to the security of the Carnatic to the southward. Various other operations followed, which opened the road to Hyderabad. This circumstance, together with the success of the troops in other parts, induced the Nizam to desire terms of accommodation; and that the Council would send a person to him for the purpose. This was declined, on the ground that he was the aggressor; and it was insisted, as a preliminary, that he should withdraw entirely from Hyder, and send his Dewan with proposals to Madras. After some hesitation, he sent Ruccum-ud-Dowla to the Presidency on the 9th February. The negotiation terminated in a treaty of peace between the Company, the Nizam, and the Nabob, on the 1st March. The Circars were ceded to the Company, the Nizam acknowledging the validity of the phirmaund from the Mogul. The Company agreed to pay him annually the sum stipulated by the former treaty, excepting the two lacs on account of the Chicacole circar, which the Nizam gave up. The sum to be paid him yearly was five lacs of rupees, out of which he agreed that the expenses of the war, about twenty-five lacs, should be deducted, at the rate of three lacs per annum. Care was taken so to word the treaty, that the payment of this sum should not appear to be by virtue of the Company's holding

holding the Circars from the Nizam, but only in consideration of the friendship existing between them. The Guntoor circar was left in the hands of Bazalet Jung, as in the treaty of Hyderabad. Entire possession of the fort of Condapilly, with the jaghire dependent on it, was given up to the Company. Hyder was publicly denounced by the Nizam as a rebel and an usurper, with whom no correspondence was to be maintained. The Nizam promised to assign and make over to the Company all his right and title to the dewanny of the Mysore country. The Nabob of the Carnatic was included in the treaty, “as well with the view of preventing the Soubah from molesting the Carnatic, as to hinder the Nabob from having any hopes towards the Deccan.”

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Operations were carried on against Hyder. On the 20th March, Salem surrendered to Colonel Wood.

Operations carried on against Hyder.

Intelligence having reached Madras of the expedition fitted out at Bombay† to attack Hyder's settlements on the coast, Colonel Wood was ordered to proceed towards Sattiamungulum, to gain possession of a fort which had been lately built by Hyder, and secure an entrance into the Coimbatore country, and at the same time open a communication with the Malabar coast, to afford aid

Proceedings at Bombay against Hyder.

* Letter to Court, 1st March, 1768.

† *Vide* page 264.

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aid to the expedition from Bombay, against which the Council apprehended Hyder would direct his attention.

The fort of Kistnagherry, which had been invested by Colonel Smith in the month of February, did not capitulate till the 2d May, the enemy having a few days previously made a vigorous but unsuccessful effort, with a body of two thousand horse, one thousand sepoy, and six hundred peons, to throw in provisions.

Hyder evinces
a disposition to
come to terms.

Hyder had shewn himself a very formidable enemy, and convinced the Council of Madras that, from his increase of power, he would prove a dangerous neighbour. They had reason to believe that he was in treaty with the French, who had been collecting a force at the islands, of thirty companies of one hundred men each, amongst which were many artificers of all kinds. He had intimated a desire that his vakeel might be received at Madras. The Council declined, unless the vakeel was furnished with the conditions proposed as the basis for a negotiation. They felt that the country powers would be apprehensive of joining the Company's interests, if they were liable to be cast off, without a clear understanding as to the position in which they would be placed towards those against whom they might have acted. They also considered it essential to lessen the power of Hyder ; but had little reason to believe that he would sacrifice either power or ambition to allay
any

any 'apprehensions. They observed, that they had a barrier to obtain to the Carnatic, their expenses to recover, and an extension of privileges and possessions to acquire for Bombay. With these views, they determined to pursue vigorous measures, in order to obtain a footing in Mysore before the rainy season obliged them to suspend operations.

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To promote these ends, two members of the Board were nominated, in the character of field-deputies, to proceed to camp, who, with Colonel Smith, were to act as a Committee, and to determine such measures with the Nabob as might be essential, without awaiting the decision of the Council at Madras, if the delay was likely to be detrimental to the public service. They were also to assist the Nabob in settling the country that might be acquired, to superintend all the measures, and to keep the charges within all possible bounds. The state of their finances was at this time most embarrassing. As very limited aid could be expected from Bengal, part of the money intended for the China investment was withheld.*

Field-deputies
appointed.

In the course of the operations, cavalry was indispensable, to enable the troops to follow up the advantages, as well as to oppose with effect that arm of the enemy. The want of such force

Financial em-
barrassment.

was

* Letter to Court, 11th May 1768.

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Success against
Hyder.

was severely felt. Vencatagherry surrendered to Colonel Campbell on the 16th June, and Muliava-keel on the 28th; from thence he proceeded to Ossour, where he was joined by the remainder of the army. That place surrendered on the 11th, and Amicalle on the 13th July. These forts formed a complete chain from Vellore to Bangalore, and their possession secured an uninterrupted communication. These successful operations led the Council to resolve on an attempt against Bangalore, which they deemed of the greater moment, from a report that the Nizam had a design of breaking with the Company, and that a negotiation was actually on foot between him and the Mahrattas. Hyder also had a vakeel with the Nizam, and Ruccum-ud-Dowla, who had the principal share in concluding the treaty between the Company and the Nizam, was in disgrace, and it was reported that the latter and Mhaderao proposed, as soon as the rains was over, to attack the Nabob's and the Company's possessions.

The views entertained by the Court of Directors, and the course of policy which it appeared to them the Council should have followed, were communicated to Madras, and a Select Committee was nominated to carry into effect their instructions regarding the affairs under that presidency.

Court of Directors condemn the treaty with the Soubah.

“ In whatever light we view the 10th article of your treaty with the Soubah, we see nothing but weakness

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MADRAS.

weakness, danger, and instability to our affairs. The Nabob Mahomed Ally, though highly esteemed by us for the sincerity of his attachment, and the long and faithful union of interest that has subsisted between him and the Company, is universally known to be a man of no resources in himself, and, consequently, the whole burthen of defending and supporting him in the Mysore country must fall upon us ; with this disadvantage, that by deviating from the original purpose of restoring to every one his right, you lose all the natural interest of the country, there remaining no inducement for any one to join you : thus we should have a barrier to maintain at an immense distance from Fort St. George, and the Mahrattas for our neighbours.

“ The situation you were in, when the *Egmont* sailed, was precisely that in which a peace seemed attainable on eligible terms. You were then in possession of all the chain of hills and forts, to form a strong barrier for the Carnatic, and we make no doubt but that Hyder Ally’s repeated defeats would have induced him to pay a large sum of money for the expense of the war ; and there it might have been closed with propriety.

“ Instead of pursuing pacific measures with Hyder Ally, as we think you ought to have done, knowing, as you did, our sentiments with respect to extending our territories, you have brought us into such a labyrinth of difficulties,
that

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that we do not see how we shall be extricated from them.

“ But if it should have happened, when these advices reach you, that Hyder Ally should be extirpated, and it should not be inconsistent with any engagements you may have entered into, our wish would be, to have restored to the ancient Rajahs, and powers to whom they belonged, the several districts and countries taken from Hyder Ally, after reserving to us the passes and forts which serve as a barrier between Mysore and the Carnatic. Such a step must demonstrate to all the Indian powers with whom we are connected, that we mean to distribute to every man his own, and by a just, mild, and prudent conduct towards them, to evince that conquests and plunder are not the objects of our pursuit; but that we mean to confine ourselves to the branches of our commercial interest, and the benefit of such revenues as have been granted to us by Mahomed Ally.

“ When we reflect on the vast length of country, from the northern parts of Chicacole, to the southern districts of Madura and Tinnevely; the number of garrisons to be maintained, and the wild independence of most of the Rajahs and Poligars, from whom nothing can be collected but by a standing force, we regret our having ever passed the boundaries of the Carnatic, even for the possession of the Circars; for we have great doubts whether the charges will not always exceed
the

the collections, and apprehend many ill consequences from so great a division of our forces. The preservation of the advantages we hold in the Bengal provinces, is the great object of our attention.”*

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MADRAS.

“ Upon principles of policy, we wish for a peace with Hyder Naigue, whenever it can be obtained upon the most moderate terms ; for our policy is to avoid every thing that tends to the increase of the Mahratta power, which is evidently the misfortune of this war ; for you are reduced to the necessity of being yourselves the proposers of new provinces to be added to the dominion of the Mahrattas, already possessed of half the Mogul empire.

“ Whether the Mahrattas have accepted or not of your offer, certain it is, they will make the most use they can of the embroils of others. It is by this conduct they have arrived to their present degree of power ; and our best policy is to check their growth by every opportunity, or at least to avoid lending our own force to their aggrandizement, which we certainly do, as often as we engage in wars with the few remaining chiefs of India, who are yet capable of coping with them.

“ Nizam Ally and Hyder Naigue are two of those chiefs, and it is our true interest to preserve a good understanding with them. We do not
mean

* Letter to Madras, 17th March, 1769.

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mean by this, that, after the long and expensive war which you have been most unfortunately engaged in, you should yield to Hyder Naigue, and accept of dishonourable terms ; but, whenever he shews a disposition to peace, we would have you meet him half-way ; and if a reasonable compensation can be obtained for our expenses, we desire no increase of territory, nor fresh grants and privileges of any kind.

“ We have possessions enough in Bengal and the Carnatic to yield all the advantages the Company expect. What we want is, attention in our servants to their improvement and good management, and a time of peace and leisure to establish plans of economy and frugality, both in our own affairs and those of the Nabob of Arcot, whose debts and embarrassments will have no end, till he confines his views to the Carnatic.”* Subsequent events will prove how truly the Court’s prognostications were fulfilled.

The difficulty of obtaining monthly supplies to carry on the war, induced the Council to recommend to the Committee to make a vigorous effort at once against Bangalore. This measure was defeated by intelligence from Bombay. The Council at that presidency had promptly answered the call made upon them from Madras, for the purpose

* Letter to Madras, 30th June, 1769.

pose of attacking Hyder's possessions.* Mangalore was taken on the 1st March, and Onore surrendered on the 25th; but their operations against the Ally Rajah were ineffectual, owing to their being disappointed in the promised aid from the "Malabars." Their attempt to induce the Mahrattas to take part against Hyder, also failed; and an agent from Mhaderao laid claim to the Bednore and Soondah countries, and to such part of Mysore as might be taken. This was peremptorily refused by the President of Bombay; but he was empowered by the Council to stipulate, that if the islands of Salsette and Bassein,† with the several districts and revenues dependent upon each respectively; also Caranjah and the Mahrattas' share of the revenue of Surat were relinquished to the Company, the Mahrattas should be secured in their usual *chout* from the various governments and countries of the former rajahs on the coast,

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Proceedings
against Banga-
lore.

Claims of the
Mahrattas.

* *Vide* page 222.

† The Court of Directors, in a despatch to the Bombay Government in 1768, expressed their desire to obtain grants of both places:—

"The intimation you gave to our President and Council of Fort St. George, to use their endeavours with the Mahrattas to obtain a grant of Salsette and Bassein to us, we highly approve of; and we now recommend to you, in the strongest manner, to use your endeavours, upon every occasion that may offer, to obtain these places, which we should esteem a valuable acquisition. We cannot directly point out the mode of doing it, but rather wish they could be obtained by purchase than war."

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MADRAS.

coast, who were to be reinstated in their possessions.*

Operations
against Hyder.

Hyder retali-
ates.

The discussions terminated without any satisfactory result. The Council were advised that the enemy had appeared on the coast, and that Mangalore and Onore had been evacuated by the Company's forces with great precipitation, a party of the sick and some field-pieces falling into the hands of Hyder, who returned immediately to Bangalore. The views of the Council of Madras, notwithstanding these reverses, were still directed to the reduction of that fortress. The troops under Colonels Smith and Wood were ordered to unite and encamp near Onscotah, until the necessary supplies were collected for carrying on the siege. Before the junction of Colonel Wood, and the arrival of the heavy guns and stores, Hyder formed a design of surprising the camp of Morarirow, about half-a-mile on the right of ours, on the 23d August. He attacked it at night, with six thousand horse and a battalion of sepoys. Morarirow, with great presence of mind, ordered his men not to mount, by which they had greatly the advantage of the enemy among the tents, and soon obliged them to retire with considerable loss. Colonel Wood, having joined Colonel Smith at Boodicotah, on the 6th September, endeavoured to bring Hyder, who was encamped eight miles north

* Letter, April, 1768.

north of that place, to action: he retreated too rapidly for their force to come up with him. Perceiving that he was followed by only one body of troops, he surprised and took Malavagal. Colonel Wood immediately went to its relief, and attempted to recover the fort on the hill by escalade, but without success. Hyder's attempt to throw in a fresh body of troops, on the 28th September, brought on a general action, which lasted from eleven in the morning till sunset, when he retreated, leaving Colonel Wood master of the field. He retired to Chicamogloor, and, on his way, made an effort to take the fort of Murgomallee, which he abandoned on the approach of our troops. The Council, having ascertained from Bombay that he had made overtures for a negotiation through the president there, despatched a communication to Mr. Hornby, the President, suggesting that he should inform Hyder, that the Council at Madras were not averse to peace, and that proposals would be received. Colonel Smith, who had advanced with his division of the army in pursuit of Hyder, near Punganoor, received a message from him, desiring to know whether he would grant him a peace. He was informed in reply, that, if he had anything to propose, he should freely open his mind; Hyder desired some person might be sent to him. Colonel Smith despatched his Dubash, the only person he had with him, to whom Hyder said,

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MADRAS.

Fruitless negotiations with Hyder.

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said, “ he was sensible he could not oppose us in the field, neither would he attempt it, but that he could give us much trouble ; and as he was forced to quit his own country, he was determined to enter the Carnatic, and do all the mischief he could, and, if reasonable terms were refused him, he would come to the gates of Madras to make peace.” The Dubash felt that he could make no answer. To another party sent by Colonel Smith, on the return of the Dubash, Hyder stated, “ he was determined not to return to Bangalore ; that he had left it well provided to the chance of war ; that it was possible we might take it in a month, but he should have Seringapatam and Biddenore remaining, and that, rather than lose all, he would call in the Mahrattas.” He also deputed a person of consequence to the field deputies, by whom such moderate terms were proposed, that, had he been sincerely desirous of peace, he would have acceded to them ; but he abruptly broke off the negociation. The Council were satisfied his object had been to gain time, and to give him an opportunity of drawing off the several powers, by publicly announcing that peace had been concluded.

Apprehensions being entertained that Mhaderao would advance beyond the Kistna and join Hyder, the Bombay Council despatched a Resident to Poonah, to draw off his attention. The sincerity of the Soubah was again doubted, as he had

had also sent an agent to Mhaderao. Every attempt was accordingly resolved upon by the Madras Council to distress Hyder, both on the Malabar coast and in the Coimbatore country. The Council at Bombay, from a desire expressed by the Directors for peace, had abstained from further operations.

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Such were the difficulties and embarrassments with which the Madras Council were surrounded, and so great were their apprehensions as to the Mahrattas, that Mr. Brome, who had been appointed Resident at Poonah, was authorized to propose a junction with Mhaderao, to enable him to conquer the Bednore country, although the Council were quite alive to the great increase of power that the Mahrattas would derive from that conquest.*

Mr. Brome
sent to Poo-
nah.

The mission of Mr. Brome was of no avail. The unfortunate situation of the Company on the Malabar coast, arising from their conquests having been abandoned, and the weak state of the garrison at Bombay, of which Mhaderao was fully informed, left that chieftain free from any apprehension as to the Company's power being exerted to his prejudice. These circumstances, together with a large sum of money paid him by Hyder, and the pressing entreaty of the Nizam (notwithstanding the solemn engagements of

* Letter to the Court, 16th November 1763.

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of the latter to the Company), that he would join Hyder, led to the conclusion of a treaty between Mhaderao and the Nizam; by which, the latter, in lieu of the forts of Autoor, Nagore, and Dowlatabad, made over to him by Ragobah, was to receive the forts of Ausem and Bodamy, with a jaghire of twelve lacs of rupees, to be paid out of the country of Darood, to make up the difference of the revenues arising from the forts which he ceded: he agreeing to join the Mahrattas in assisting Hyder against the Company and the Nabob. At the date of this transaction (2d December 1768), the following letter was received by the Council of Madras from Mhaderao:

“As the firmness and strength of your friendship is known to every one to be superior in those respects *even to the wall of Alexander*, it is needless to pretend to enter into any discussions of it. In consideration thereof, I have sent my Vakeel, who will advise you of some matters which I have entrusted to him.”

Mutiny at
Coimbatore.

On the 28th November, Hyder's troops forced the Guzelhetty pass; Captain Andrews, who commanded, was killed in the defence. A few days afterwards, the garrison of Coimbatore mutinied; they put to death both the commanding officer and paymaster, and then delivered up the fort to the enemy. This event created so great a panic in the other garrisons, that some were immediately abandoned, and the rest surrendered without

without opposition. On the 5th December, Colonel Lang took the command of the army, relieving Colonel Wood, who had been ordered to the Presidency, to explain the course he had pursued after Hyder's movement towards Ossour, the result of which had produced great despondency both in the troops and their commander.

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Hyder repossessed himself of the several forts south of the valley, excepting Kistnagherry. He detached parties of his horse, plundering, burning, and laying waste the province of Trichinopoly and the southern countries. The fort of Trichinopoly was only saved by the arrival of Major Fitzgerald in the neighbourhood. The ravages committed by Hyder's horse were great, the want of cavalry rendering it utterly impossible to check them. In fact, the country as far north as Gingee was destroyed, some of the straggling parties advancing to Chingleput. During the whole of January, the forces under Major Fitzgerald were marching and countermarching, in order to watch, and if possible to stop, the progress of the enemy.

Hyder's success.

On the 12th February, a correspondence was renewed with Hyder, on the subject of peace. In reply to a letter from Major Fitzgerald, he expressed a desire to terminate the war, and that an officer might be sent, to whom he could open his mind, promising at the same time to put an end to the ravages committed by his horse. Major

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Fitzgerald deputed Captain Brooke, who, by Hyder's permission, took down in writing the conversation that passed, which led the Council to believe that he was really inclined to come to terms.* A proposition was made, on the part of the Council, for a truce of forty days; Hyder would only consent to twelve days. The terms he prescribed being inadmissible, preparations were made to watch his motions. He was at this time in communication with M. Law, at Pondicherry, which the French were busy in fortifying, under pretence of security against the Native powers. The following copy of a letter from Hyder to M. Law was discovered:—"It is a long time since I had the pleasure of receiving any letters from you advising of your health, the news of these parts, and that of the French in Europe. Considering the friendship and regard which the French Company and the sirdars of their king in Europe bear to me, I am very glad to hear of the increase of their happiness and power, also of your health. You have, doubtless, heard from others the repeated victories which, by the blessing of God, have attended the Circar's troops; also the defeat of the English, and my laying waste the Trichinopoly, Arcot, &c. countries. My victorious armies are now gone towards Madras, near to which place they will proceed; when you will certainly

Hyder corresponds with
M. Law.

* Madras Consultations, January 1769.

certainly send to me a person of distinction, to inform me as well of certain affairs of your country of Europe as these parts; and till then, be constant in writing me very particular letters, advising of the above matters, the situation of affairs in Europe, the English sea-ports and their sirdars; all which will be the means of increasing our friendship and regard. From Shah Mahomed, a servant of my court, whom I now send, you will be informed of my friendship. What can I say more?"*

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Experience having shewn, that it was impossible to obtain any decisive advantage without a body of horse, a communication took place with the Nabob of the Carnatic as to the best means of procuring that species of force. The distress of the Council was so great for want of money, that a stop was put to the investment on the coast, all further advances being interdicted: notwithstanding these extreme measures for relief, they stated that, they "knew not where to find resources for carrying on the war for more than four months longer." They applied to the King of Tanjore for a body of cavalry; but Hyder had already despatched part of his force to the frontiers of Tanjore, and obliged the king to pay a sum of money, and to furnish a quantity of provisions, to save his country from being laid waste. It being impossible to bring the war to a conclusion with-

out

Want of
cavalry and
money.

* Country Correspondence, 1769.

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out cavalry, Morarirow engaged to complete his horse to three thousand; the Nabob was to furnish four thousand more, which, with the fifteen hundred he already possessed, and about five hundred the Polygars could supply, would form on the whole a respectable body.

Causes of pro-
tracted war.

The Council ascribed the protraction of the war to the three following causes: a divided power—the want of cavalry—and the want of money. They remarked, that the forces in the field were under the Company's servants, but the means of maintaining them were principally obtained from the Nabob, who was very jealous of control, especially since our attainment of the Dewanny in Bengal, which led him to infer that the same result would follow at Madras. They did not hesitate to declare their opinion, that either the whole management of the Carnatic must remain in his hands or that of the Company; and that if the revenues of the Carnatic were free and unencumbered, they might well afford to maintain a respectable body of cavalry, besides one of infantry; but under the existing embarrassments of the Nabob, it appeared to be impracticable. As to money, they had never been able to calculate a reasonable dependence on more than could meet three or four months of ordinary charges. The Nabob, at length perceiving his danger, and the indispensable necessity of a body of cavalry, engaged to procure both the cavalry and the means.

means.* Great doubts were entertained as to his fulfilling his engagement; had not large supplies been furnished from Bengal, the affairs at Madras must long before have sunk under the burthen. These considerations led the Council to urge the expediency of a sum being always reserved at each of the presidencies to meet the extraordinary charges of war, in case the ordinary revenues should fail.† The incursions of Hyder determined the Council to fortify the Black Town, for which purpose a contract was entered into with Mr. Paul Benfield, in March.

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MADRAS.

Hyder, finding himself much pressed by the force under Colonel Smith, near Chingleput, returned suddenly to the southward, and on the 18th March, encamped on the Red Hills, near Pondicherry. Colonel Smith marched to Wandewash, where he was obliged to wait some days, to put his army in a condition to pursue the enemy.

On the 28th, the Council received intelligence from Chingleput, that Hyder's horse had appeared near that place, and at twelve at night, the signal agreed upon was made at the Mount. On the 29th, in the morning, several parties of horse appeared within the bounds of Madras, and it was ascertained from a spy, that Hyder, with more of his horse, but without guns or infantry,

Hyder advances to Madras.

* This measure was the foundation of that portion of the Carnatic debt commonly called the "Cavalry Loan."

† Letter, 8th March 1769.

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Letter from
Hyder.

was on the other side of St. Thomé. About six o'clock in the evening, Hyder addressed a letter to the President on the subject of a peace :

“ After the arrival of Mr. Andrews, and the commencement of the negociation of peace, in person as well as by letter, a means of establishing a friendship between us took place. I therefore addressed a letter to you, by a camel-hircarrah, on the 13th March, in answer to one you sent me, and lay encamped near Balepore ; when, Colonel Smith arriving near my army, by continual marches, with a design to attack me, I was under a necessity to move. Just at which time, I received your letter of the 17th, by the said camel-hircarrah, advising of your intention to send Mr. Andrews again to me, in a day or two ; for which reason, I encamped within three or four coss of Cuddalore, in expectation of his arrival. The laying waste of that place would not have been so difficult a task ; but still I declined it, out of regard to the friendship between us, as it would prejudice the trust that is usually put in sea-ports. Mr. Andrews, however, delaying his coming for some time, and Colonel Smith, notwithstanding the negociation of peace being on foot, again arriving within two or three coss of my army, with the same design as before, I immediately decamped ; and with a view to settle a lasting peace, the soonest possible, am arrived at the Mount. My regard to our friendship, and the intercourse of
letters

letters which has passed between us, made me decline coming to blows with the Colonel ; and the same consideration has made me entirely forbid the burning the villages, and seizing the cattle : on which heads, I have given proper orders throughout my army. I now write this, therefore, to desire you will send to me Mr. Dupré, who is a wise sirdar and one of the councillors, and with whom, moreover, I have maintained a correspondence since the first arrival of Mr. Andrews. To him I shall impart my thoughts respecting the establishing a peace and sincere friendship between us, which, having fully understood, he may return and acquaint you with ; in which case, that foundation of a lasting peace, which we are both desirous of, will be established. In case of any delay therein, I am not to be blamed : let me hope, therefore, that you will send the said gentleman with all possible expedition. Entertain no apprehensions whatever, but be pleased to send him with a contented heart. For further particulars relative to my friendship, I refer you to the said Nizamuddeen. May your happiness always increase !”*

The President replied to Hyder Ally Khan :—
“ By Nizamuddeen Ahamed, I have just now received your letter from the Mount, the friendly contents of which give me great pleasure, as you still express your good inclination to restore peace,
and

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MADRAS.

* Country Correspondence, 1769.

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and desire that I will send Mr. Dupré to you for that purpose. That gentleman will set out from hence to-morrow morning early, to visit you ; and I hope all our differences will soon be adjusted to our mutual satisfaction. I therefore desire, as an earnest of your good intentions, that you will order your people not to plunder the Company's villages, nor molest the people. If you will consent to this, I will empower Mr. Dupré to send a letter to Colonel Smith to halt at a proper distance."

Treaty signed.

On the following morning, Mr. Dupré set out to join Hyder, with whom he continued the whole day, returning to the Presidency in the evening. The conference led to the conclusion of terms, and of a treaty, which was signed by Hyder on the 3d April. He announced his signing it in the following terms:—"I have the pleasure of your letter. Agreeably to your desire, I have put my seal to the treaty you sent. You will receive it by Mr. Stracy, to whom I beg leave to refer you, for further particulars, as well as to the circumstances of Colonel Smith's movements to-day. May your happiness and joy ever last!"

It consisted of three articles. The contracting parties included the Rajah of Tanjore, the Malavar Ram Rajah, and Morarirow, who were described as friends and allies to the Carnatic Payan Gaut ; also all other friends and allies of the contracting parties, provided they did not become aggressors against either of them ; but if they became

came aggressors, they were not to be assisted by either.*

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The cavalry raised by the Nabob during the war were delivered over to him, but at his request they were to be placed under the Company's officers.

Proposals were made to the Council, in May, that they should join the Nizam against the Mahrattas. The Council, in the event of the matter being pressed, determined to avail themselves of the clause in the late treaty, and likewise to declare that the situation of the Company's affairs did not admit of their affording the required assistance. In announcing their determination to the Court, they remarked: "Engagements and alliances with the powers of India must unavoidably expose us to perpetual dangers, troubles, and embarrassments; but it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to figure in the character of an Indian potentate, and yet avoid the dangers and inconveniences of Indian alliances and connexions. The Company's possessions in the Carnatic are not such as would give them that character; but as possessors in part, and protectors of the whole, from Tinnevelly to Cuttack, they certainly are regarded in that light, and subject to all the inconvenience of it."†

Proposals for
Council to join
Nizam against
Mahrattas.

After the treaty had been executed, Hyder insisted upon the release of all the Nawaughts, and the

* Printed Treaties.

† Letter to Court, 27th June 1769.

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the delivery of the stores in the fort of Colar. The Council, anticipating some further demands, consulted Colonel Smith as to the means of carrying on a war, should hostilities recommence. That officer declared that, considering the reduced condition of the troops, the distressed state of the country, and the inability of the Council to procure any certain pecuniary resources, there was no probability of their being able to prosecute a war with any prospect of success; that they were not in a position to insist upon more favourable terms, and that even a temporary respite was of great moment to the troops.

In consideration of these circumstances, and of the success of the enemy in the Tinnevelly country, owing to the combination of the Polygars in his favour, and the miserable defection of the Nabob's sepoys, who fled from every part on the appearance of the enemy, the demands of Hyder were acceded to.

Hyder shortly afterwards solicited the Council for a small body of troops, merely as a proof of the Company's connexion with him, to assist him with Janojee against Mhaderao. The Council referred him to the treaty, under which they declined acceding to his request, feeling that it would be unwarrantable to take part against Mhaderao.

On the termination of peace with Hyder, the Council brought before the Court the relation in which

which the Company stood towards the Nabob of the Carnatic. They declared that the terms of the late peace had been imposed upon them by imperative necessity, to which they had acceded from a conviction, that the result would only prove less disadvantageous than a continuance of hostilities, with means wholly inadequate to their vigorous prosecution.

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Had the negotiation with Hyder related to the Company's interests alone, most of the difficulties which arose during the discussions would have been obviated. So far as the Company were concerned, Hyder was said to have evinced an earnest wish for peace and friendship; but had the Company observed a neutrality, and left the Nabob to protect his own country, the Carnatic would have fallen to the first invader. Although in this powerless condition to defend his territories, the Nabob possessed, in its fullest extent, the government of the country; the appointment of, and command over, the persons entrusted with the departments, and the entire disposal of its productions and revenues: on all points connected with the Carnatic, it was necessary that he should be consulted; in fact, nothing could be done without his concurrence. His desire had been to continue the war, notwithstanding the absolute want of all *matériel* for the purpose. The treachery of his sepoys, in surrendering every fort that was attacked; the extension of the cruel

Embassy's
views of the
Nabob of the
Carnatic.

ravages

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ravages to which the country had been exposed ; a rooted hatred to Hyder ; a desire to extend his own possessions, and a belief in the Company's inexhaustible credit and resources in Bengal, supplied the motives by which he had been actuated. He never spoke of Hyder but as Hyder Naigue, although the Nizam and others had, as it suited them, used towards Hyder the title of Nabob. Hyder as resolutely refused to use the term Nabob of the Carnatic, but designated him Mahomed Ally, often accompanied with opprobrious terms. The Nabob absolutely declined being made a party to the treaty, as he would not submit to give Hyder the title of Nabob. The Council were, therefore, constrained to conclude and engage for the Carnatic.

The Nabob was desirous that the Company should disband their troops and retire within their possessions, leaving him to defend the rest of the Carnatic with his own means. The Council observed on the long friendship which had existed between the Company and the Nabob ; their promises and engagements to support him and his family ; the large debt which he owed to them ; the probable detriment to these affairs, should the Carnatic fall into other hands ; and the certainty of that event, if not prevented by the interposition of our power, were urged as reasons for employing the Company's troops whenever the country might be attacked. Arms, once taken up, could
not

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not be laid down at pleasure ; and although it might be nominally the Nabob's cause, it would, in point of fact, be that of the Company. From the first of his connexion with the Company, in 1746, to the reduction of Pondicherry, in 1761, the Carnatic had been a continued scene of war, in which the Nabob had been reduced to the greatest extremities. The revenues had been wholly inadequate to the expense of the wars up to 1761. Before any reductions could be introduced, the defection of Usoff Khan in the Madura country, and the subsequent hostilities with Hyder, had still further embarrassed his resources, besides the debts which he had contracted to individuals. The Council, therefore, solicited the Court's views as to the future course of policy to be observed towards him, as, after all, he depended solely upon the Company for support ; as he had not a friend in the Nizam, the Mahrattas, Hyder, or the king of Tanjore. They stated, that they felt it necessary to put forward the facts ; deductions from them being matter of opinion.

The Nabob was apprehensive, to the greatest degree, that, sooner or later, some pretence would be found by the Government to seize the Carnatic, and establish such a system as had been introduced in Bengal. Although the day was, in all probability, far distant, when he would be enabled to discharge his debts, and insist upon the
Company

1769. Company evacuating his forts and country, the
MADRAS. Council desired to possess the Court's opinion, in the event of such a state of things arising. The value of the Company's acquisitions, including the Circars and Jaghire, was estimated at about thirty-five to forty lacs; the Nabob's, between seventy and eighty: but this was not founded on any clear data.

The Directors communicated their sentiments on the treaty with Hyder, and the views of the Council, in a despatch to Madras, in March 1770:

“ In your letter to the Nabob, dated 16th July 1767, you say, it has been your intention, ever since 1761, to embrace the first favourable opportunity of securing the several passes into the Carnatic. That you then had a favourable opportunity, because the Mahrattas had already struck a terror into Hyder's forces; therefore, you urged the Nabob to exert his utmost to get this accomplished. You afterwards promised him the government of the Mysore country. Your field deputies pompously appointed him phousedar thereof; and then you accuse him of having an *insatiable desire of extending his dominions*. He finds himself, by following your advice, reduced, disappointed, and almost despised; and then you blame him for want of temper.

“ You have attempted to explain away the
value

value of almost every thing for which you have ventured to plunge us into a war with a view to obtain. To such a degree of irresolution and disability had your ill-conduct of the war reduced you, that necessity obliged you, at last, to give Mr. Andrews, in his instructions to treat with Hyder, a very extraordinary *carte blanche*, nearly to this effect: ‘If Hyder will not relinquish places taken, we must relinquish pretensions thereto.’

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“ You say the Nabob has the Bengal transactions always in his mind :—we wonder not at it. You have, contrary to our express injunctions, afforded but too much reason for all the country powers around you to suspect us of encroaching designs against their possessions and tranquillity, and gained no one advantage thereby.

“ In the first article of your treaty with Hyder, you include, in general words, *all the friends and allies of the contracting parties*, ‘ provided they do not become aggressors ;’ but if they become aggressors, they lose the benefit of such treaty.

“ Now as, by the treaty with the Soubah, Bazalet Jung is prohibited expressly, at any time, from yielding Hyder the common formal civilities necessarily practised by country powers who are at peace with each other, we cannot conceive how Bazalet Jung can fulfil the condition by which he holds his circar, and yet continue on good terms with Hyder, as all our allies must do, if they act

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conform-

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conformably to the first article of your treaty with him.

“ By your letter to the President and Council of Bengal, 21st March last, and their reply thereto, of the 31st of the same month, we find a plan has been concerted between you, for establishing a fund for military resources, by a reduction of the investments on which we had so much reason to depend. However salutary it might be to provide against future exigencies, after your investments shall have been carried to their full extent, yet it is with the utmost astonishment we see that our servants (apprised, as they are, of the obligation the Company is under to pay £400,000 annually to Government, exclusive of the indemnity for tea, which may be estimated at near £200,000) could entertain an idea of depriving us of the only means we could have to discharge the same, together with such dividends as the Proprietors might reasonably expect from our late acquisitions, and at the same time enable us to provide for the payment of bills of exchange, or our common and necessary consignments, and the other important occasions which must indispensably be complied with.”

Circars taken
under Compa-
ny's manage-
ment.

As the term for which the Circars had been let to Hussain Ally and Joquey Pundit expired in the ensuing September, the Council resolved upon taking the whole under the Company's management, and to settle with the Zemindars for their jumma-

jummabundy. When originally let to Hussain Ally, two only of the four Circars had acknowledged the Company's authority; and the Zemindars of those two, notwithstanding their assurances of fidelity and attachment, were ready to seize every opportunity to distress a government, to which they only submitted through fear. By the plan proposed, a competent knowledge of their mean value would be obtained, though the expenses of collecting the revenues might render it less advantageous for a time. The distinction between zemindarry and government lands was first pointed out. "The zemindarries are lands held by certain rajahs or chiefs as their hereditary estates, paying a certain tribute to the Government, and being subject to suit and service, in manner very similar to the ancient feudal tenures. The tributes ought to be certain and invariable, though that has not always been strictly observed, and changes in government have also introduced changes in the tributes; which, indeed, is of no great consequence, for, besides these fixed tributes (supposing they were so), the Supreme Government has always demanded, and custom has given sanction and title to, a further sum as a *nazar*, or free gift; and these two sums, the tribute and *nazar*, are what we mean when we speak of settling the *jummabundy* with the Zemindars. Besides these zemindarries, or hereditary estates, there are certain lands (more in the Chicacole than any

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MADRAS.

Zemindarry
and Govern-
ment lands
described.

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other of the Circars), which are called *havely*, or Government lands, and are the property of the state, or lord paramount. Such are your *jagueer*, &c. lands, in the Carnatic; and these are the lands which we purpose to let out, even should we, by way of trial, endeavour to settle ourselves the *jummabundy* with the Zemindars for their lands.”*

Litigious and
violent pro-
ceedings of the
Grand Jury.

The introduction of English law had, at this early period, been productive, as in later times, of much inconvenience and annoyance to the Government as well as to the natives. At a moment when the Company's affairs on the coast demanded the utmost attention of the Council; when the whole of the country from Tinnevely to the Kistna was involved in troubles, and when the enemy were ravaging the Carnatic, the Council were harassed by the violent and litigious proceedings of some members of the Grand Jury, who obstinately persevered in pressing matters and presentments, which threw the settlement into contentions and embarrassments; whilst on other occasions they declined to make a return to any of the bills of indictment brought before them.

The jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, under the charter, became matter of doubt and dispute; the one party construing the word *factory* in the most extensive latitude, the other taking it in its literal and strict sense.

“ If,”

* Letter from Fort St. George, 27th June, 1769.

“ If,” observed the Council, “ the charter should be understood in the extended sense, including not only all the old districts, but the newly-acquired jaghire and all the circars, and, consequently, that we should be required to govern and manage these countries according to the laws of England, we hope your honours will pardon us if we frankly confess, that we are utterly unable to undertake such a task. It would be introductive of more disorder and confusion than we can now describe : but, as we do not think that the charter can, by any natural construction, be extended thus far, we have only to hope that it may be understood not to extend beyond the places actually named without dependencies ; that is to say, Madraspatnam, or the Black Town, and Fort St. George, or the White Town, and so of every other factory. We are of opinion that, whether the Company hold their possessions by one tenure or another, it was never intended by the grants, to abolish the usages and customs of the people, or the forms of administering justice.”

The whole subject was referred by the Directors to the consideration of counsel, who, after entering very fully into the various points, stated :—
“ I have no doubt that the charter of justice does not extend to any territories or places acquired since that charter was granted ; consequently, the Presidency of Madras may be relieved from their apprehensions, that the jaghire lands
are

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MADRAS.

Counsel's opinion on conduct of the Grand Jury.

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are within their jurisdiction. The extent of their power seems to be very exactly described in the forty-fifth paragraph of their general letter.

“ If any of the Grand Jury had complained to the court of their fellows for refusing to go on with their business, and nothing had appeared to justify such refusal but what is said by the three memorialists in the court, it was the duty of the judges to set fines upon them, and commit them until the fines were paid. The court have also a power of fining those who refuse to attend the juries, who are liable to be called upon after they have been legally summoned : but fines are at the discretion of the judges, and in such cases £30 has been set. Nothing can be more illegal or insolent than the address of the Grand Jury to the justices of Oyer and Terminer, 26th April 1769 ; there was no punishment in the power of the court they did not deserve. But when a grand jury is dismissed for misbehaviour, and another summoned in its stead, the second is not to consist of any part of the first jury so dismissed ; and the taking a larger number at first into grand juries will prevent this inconvenience.

“ It is proper I should make some observations on the memorial sent to the Court of Directors, and the conduct of the memorialists. They, after they had found one bill of indictment, stopped short in the business, because they apprehended they were not qualified to act, the court, in their
opinion,

opinion, having illegally dismissed a former jury. It is impossible to conceive a circumstance more foreign to their province as jurymen, or the business then before them. With equal propriety, they might have dated their disqualification from some misconduct in the Nabob of Arcot. It is again to be observed, that these gentlemen had been sworn on the Grand Jury, and as such had found an indictment. They imputed, and by their memorial impute, the interruption thus given to the public justice of the country, to the feelings and dictates of their conscience, and could not by virtue of their oaths as jurymen (though with the same breath they declare themselves not qualified as jurymen) give any reason for their conduct. How this explosion was felt at Madras, I know not; but sure I am, that if it had burst in the King's Bench in this country, these gentlemen would not have been permitted to plead conscience for their outrage. If these feelings of conscience are real and genuine, the owners of such consciences are, indeed, disqualified for every important connexion with public society, as they have not the least power and control over themselves. Could it be imagined, that assisting in the administration of justice could offend the most tender conscience? Can any employment be more innocent or honourable? Against such qualms, so sudden, so unexpected, and so destructive in their operations, human foresight has

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no

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no protection. But if, on the other hand, these feelings of conscience are not sincere or genuine, but are only used as a cover, under which resentment, detraction, and malice conceal themselves, the owners of such consciences are the pest of all public society."

The Court dismissed three of their civil servants and one military servant, who had been principally concerned, and were parties to the memorial, leaving it to the Council to restore either or all, provided their conduct, in the intermediate period of the complaint, and the receipt of the Court's order, had proved entirely satisfactory to the Council.

Conduct of the
French.

The French were at this period busily engaged in fortifying Pondicherry, under the pretence of security from the country powers. Two of their transports had gone to the Cape for provisions, after having been at the Mauritius, full of men and warlike stores. They had also made a settlement on the eastern coast of Madagascar for the better accommodation of their troops.*

1768.
BOMBAY.
Operations
against Hyder
on coast of
Malabar.

The armament sent from Bombay against Hyder's possessions on the Malabar coast, in the month of February, has already been noticed.† That expedition consisted of five hundred Europeans and eight hundred sepoy, under the command

* Letter from the Council, 26th June, 1769.

† Vide page 230.

mand of Major Gowin, the marine force being placed under Mr. Watson, to whom was added Mr. Sibbald, long resident at Onore, for the purpose of forming a committee to conduct any negotiation that might arise during the service.

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BOMBAY.

Mangalore, Onore, and Fortified Island, had been successively captured in the month of March. On the 9th of May, a considerable body of Hyder's forces were reported to be within a short distance of Mangalore, commanded by the Nabob in person. They were shortly afterwards discovered posted on the hills, and bringing up their cannon with elephants and oxen; their number amounted to six or eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Captain Boyé, who commanded at the fort, was consulted, and joined with the Committee in opinion that the fort was untenable; that any attempt to attack the enemy in the field would be fruitless and unsuccessful, and that measures should, therefore, be concerted for withdrawing the troops. Arrangements were accordingly made for that purpose; but from great mismanagement in bringing up the boats, and the the irregularity and precipitancy with which the troops advanced to embark, one lieutenant, two ensigns, eighty-four Europeans, and one hundred and sixty-two sepoy, were either killed or fell into the hands of the enemy.

Company's
troops abandon
Mangalore.

The Council considered the whole transaction to call for strict investigation. They ordered a
general

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BOMBAY.

Several officers
dismissed.

general court-martial to assemble in November, for the trial of the officers, who had given their opinion to the council of war assembled at Mangalore that the place should be evacuated, and also for the irregular and disgraceful manner of conducting the evacuation, in leaving the sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy. The finding of the Court led to the dismissal of several of the officers from the service.

Treaty with
Hyder and
Presidency of
Bombay.

The treaty concluded with Hyder, by the Council at Madras, was not deemed conclusive as regarded Bombay. A vakeel reached the latter Presidency from Hyder, on the 3d November, desiring that two members of the Board might be appointed to treat with him: Messrs. Church and Sibbald were accordingly nominated for that purpose. After protracted negotiations, a treaty was agreed upon, in the month of August, consisting of thirteen articles. The Company were allowed to build a fort at Onore, and to have the sole right of purchasing pepper in the Nabob's dominions. The amount, or as much of it as the Company chose, was to be made good in guns, muskets, saltpetre, lead, and gunpowder, and the balance in ready money; the Company were to export from Mangalore what rice they might want; to cut and purchase timber at Onore, and to be exempt from anchorage-dues; the Nabob was not to assist the enemies of the English, nor the English the enemies of the Nabob.

The

The Court disapproved of the article of the treaty, which related to the supply of warlike stores to Hyder; as it not only enabled him to strengthen his own power, but led to the belief that Mhaderao, with whom the Court were anxious to preserve a strict neutrality, might take umbrage at the condition, which permitted Hyder to add to his military means.

1768.
BOMBAY.

CHAPTER VI.

1765-69.
Attention of
Parliament
directed to the
Company's
affairs.

To preserve a correct narrative of the proceedings of Parliament, in connection with those of the Company and of their governments abroad, reference must now be had to the acts of the Legislature, immediately following the acquisition of the Dewanny in 1765.*

Intelligence of that event reached the General Court during its meeting on the 18th June 1766. After the despatches had been read, a motion was made to increase the dividend from 6 to 8 per cent. The Court of Directors were opposed to the motion; they represented that, although the advantage of the new acquisition was undoubtedly important, yet the expenses incurred in the extended military operations that had been carried on, had entailed on the Company a large and heavy expense, and they recommended, that before any increase was made on the ground of the supposed enlarged profits, they should first discharge their incumbrances. The unanimous opinion of the Directors led to the withdrawal of the motion at that meeting, but a similar proposition was

Vide page 146.

was renewed and carried on the 26th September, notwithstanding a report from the Directors to the Proprietors strongly urged the prudence of abstaining from the measure. On the following day the House of Commons called for a copy of the proceedings. At this time a negociation was pending with His Majesty's Government for a general arrangement of the Company's affairs. Parliament determined, before entering upon the more extended subject, to pass a law forthwith for regulating the dividend. The bill brought in provided against the declaration of a dividend but by the ballot, and that seven days' notice should be given before such ballot took place. In May 1767, the Proprietors determined to petition against the bill; the Court of Directors were strongly opposed to this course, whereupon the General Court demanded a ballot to decide the question, and that it should take place instanter. The votes were accordingly taken between the hours of eight and eleven in the evening, the majority being in favour of the petition against the bill for regulating the dividend. So far however from the Proprietors obtaining their object, the House of Commons called for a copy of their further proceedings, and passed two Acts, the one prescribing the mode in which a declaration of dividend should be made; the other limiting the power of voting at the ballot to Proprietors who should have had their stock six months, and also providing

1766.

1767.

1767.

providing that no ballot, on any question, should be begun within a less space of time than eight hours after the adjournment of the General Court in which the question might be proposed, and that in no case should the ballot commence at a later^a hour than twelve at noon, nor close earlier than six in the afternoon.*

The regulation regarding the qualification of a proprietor to vote arose out of the mischievous practice which had prevailed of splitting large quantities of stock into sums of £500, (the then only qualification) by which separate and temporary conveyances were made. Thus dividends were declared, Directors elected, and important questions regarding India decided, under the existence of a practice subversive of every principle upon which the General Court was constituted, and which, if continued, would have left the permanent interest of the Company liable to be sacrificed to the partial and interested views of the few and perhaps temporary proprietors.

These legislative measures were followed by further and more important proceedings regarding the Company.

In the month of September the Court of Directors received an intimation from the first Lord of the Treasury that it was most probable the Company's affairs would engage the attention of Parliament

* Act 7 Geo. 3, cap. 48 and 49.

liament in the ensuing session. A committee was accordingly appointed in November, who called for the Company's charters, their treaties with and grants from the country powers, together with all their letters from their servants and agents in India, and also a statement of their revenues. Lengthened discussions took place—the question of the right of the Crown to the territories acquired by the Company was felt to be of too much importance to be lightly touched upon, and the Minister* declared fully against the trial of such a right in the House of Commons.

1767.

The Company having petitioned Parliament, and submitted proposals for an agreement, the same were acceded to, an Act being passed by which the Company were to pay £400,000 a-year to the public, and to export a given value of British produce.†

This agreement was renewed in 1769 for the term of five years.‡ At that period a general state of the Company's affairs; the contents of the dispatches received from the three Presidencies, which announced the deputation to Shuja Dowla, in Bengal; the prosecution of the war on the coast against Hyder, and the mission of Mr. Brome from Bombay to Poonah, were communicated to the Proprietors. They were also acquainted with, and fully

1769.

Lord North.

† 7 Geo. 3, cap. 57.

‡ 9 Geo. 3, cap. 24.

1769.

fully concurred in, the determination adopted by the Directors, to send out a special commission, composed of three gentlemen of ability and experience (Henry Vansittart, Luke Scrafton, and Francis Forde, Esqrs.), to superintend all the presidencies and settlements, with full power to correct all abuses, and to dismiss or suspend such servants as might appear to have been concerned in such proceedings. They also resolved, that the Directors should apply to the Crown for naval aid in India.

Government propose to arm the King's naval officer with powers of a plenipotentiary.

Application was accordingly made to His Majesty's Government, but they were not disposed to grant a naval force, unless its commander was invested with powers, as plenipotentiary, for treating with Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas, &c. The Company were averse to arming him with such powers. Government were still of opinion that they should be conceded ; but subsequently suggested that they might be confined to his having a voice on all questions connected with peace and war. The objections of the Directors and Proprietors to this modification not being removed, it was urged by Government, that the commission proposed to be sent out by the Company was illegal ; and, moreover, that his Majesty could not consent to permit his forces to be subject to possible employment, contrary to the engagement by treaty, to acknowledge the legal titles of the Soubah of the Deccan and Nabob of the Carnatic.

Lord

1769.

Lord Weymouth, who conveyed such intimation to the Directors, desired that the sense of the General Court should be taken upon it. On the 15th of August, the day appointed for the General Court, another letter was read from his Lordship, in which he recapitulated the object contemplated in his former communication, and concluded by stating that, "The difficulty of a sole plenipotentiary, if ever it existed, is removed: the Crown does not desire to interfere with the powers of the commission; wants no authority over your servants, nor any direction or inspection of your commercial affairs; disclaims even a recommendation of any person to be employed in it; in short, only wishes to be enabled to assist you effectually; and, in order to that, finds it necessary to have a share in the deliberations and resolutions of the Company, merely with regard to the two objects of peace and war, when his Majesty's forces are to be employed."

The proposed commission was declared by the Attorney-general and the Company's counsel to be free from any legal objections. The question of giving a voice to the naval commander-in-chief, in discussions as to peace and war, was considered in successive General Courts, and finally rejected on the 13th of September.

Sir John Lindsay was nominated commander-in-chief of the King's ships in India; he was likewise appointed by the Company to take the com-

Sir John Lindsay appointed to command King's ships in India.

1769. mand of all their vessels of war in the Indian seas, and to treat and settle matters in the Persian Gulf. The commissioners were permitted to embark on board his Majesty's frigate *Aurora*. Although no official intimation was received of any King's ship being ordered to India, it appears that two frigates, of which the *Anson* was one, were dispatched for that station.

1770. The *Stag*, ship of war, reached Anjengo, with Sir John Lindsay, in February, the *Aurora*, with the commissioners, had left the Cape in December preceding, but no tidings having been received of her in India in the month of September, the Council apprehended that some fatal accident had befallen her.* They, therefore, determined to despatch the *Lapwing* to England in September, by which conveyance they announced to the Court that, in consequence of the non-arrival of the commissioners, they had resolved to carry into effect the Court's orders of June, 1769, on the subject of the Dewanny revenue.

Revenue system opened.

The Select Committee contended, that the power of acting was vested in them; but the Council at large considered that, as the Court's orders

* No intelligence was received of the *Aurora*, or her passengers, after quitting England. In March 1772, a motion was made in the House of Commons for a new writ for Reading in the room of Mr. Vansittart. The house refused to grant this writ, several cases being cited where members having been absent four years had returned.

orders were directed to the Supervisors, and not to the Board or the Select Committee, if they were to be taken up, it should be by the President and Council at large. Councils of Revenue were accordingly appointed at Moorshedabad and Patna. Their instructions were framed in conformity with the Court's orders of June, 1769, and may be considered as the introduction of the Company's revenue system. The Court observed :—
 “ We have attended to the several informations and proceedings on the subject of the revenues ; and from the result of our observations, we see reason to flatter ourselves that, with care and industry, great improvements may be made in the Dewannee collections. We find the revenues of the Calcutta lands, as well as of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, have been considerably augmented : and this increase gives us a sensible pleasure, because we perceive the number of inhabitants has increased at the same time, which we regard as a proof that they have found in those provinces a better security of their property, and relief from oppressions ; and it is with particular satisfaction we can attribute these advantages to their being more immediately under the Company's management, and under the constant and minute direction of our covenanted servants. The like abuses, which have been corrected in these districts, are still severely felt through all the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, where the

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BENGAL.

Court's orders
as to the reve-
nue manage-
ment.

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numerous tribes of Foujedars, Aumils, Sirdars, &c. practise all the various modes of oppression, which have been in use so long as the Moorish government has subsisted. To correct abuses of so long a growth will require much time and industry, and, above all, a patient and moderate exertion of the powers vested in us by the grant of the Dewannee : for we do not mean, by any violent and sudden reform, to change the constitution, but to remove the evil by degrees, by reducing that immense number of idle sycophants, who, for their own emolument and that of their principals, are placed between the tenant and the public treasury, and of which every one must get his share of plunder, the whole mass of which must amount to a most enormous sum.

“Our intention is to proceed in this work, without taking off from any of those profits and emoluments which have usually accrued to the Zemindars, who have inherited lands from their ancestors, much less to add any thing to the rents to be collected from the tenants ; on the contrary, we mean to better the condition, both of the one and the other, by relieving them from many oppressions which they now labour under.

“But a plan of reformation of so extensive a nature cannot be effected by one man ; it must be the constant attention of many ; and for this purpose we have resolved to establish a committee

of

of some of our ablest servants, for the management of the Dewannee revenues, at Muxadavad for the Bengal province, and at Patna for that of Bahar.

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“The gentlemen to be so appointed shall be comptrollers for the management of the Dewannee revenues under your direction, and they are to have so many other of our junior covenanted servants for assistants, as from time to time may be found necessary to be sent into the several provinces, to correct abuses and maintain the intended reformation.

“The object of this council must be, first, to inform themselves of the real state of the collections in every part: that is to say, what rents are at this time actually paid by the tenants, and what was paid formerly; what is the nature of the cultivation, and what the chief produce of each district, and whether, in that respect, there seems a prospect of improvement. They are next to inform themselves of the amount of the charges of collection for some years past, in as particular a manner as possible; and you are then to judge how many of the Aumils and other officers, among whom those immense sums have been divided, may be spared. This saving, as far as it can reasonably be carried, at the same time that it will be a profit to the Company in point of revenue, will likewise be a relief to the tenant: for it cannot be doubted but that these numerous instruments

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instruments of power lay the inhabitants under contribution in various secret ways, over and above what appears upon the face of the accounts.

“ In this reformation, you are to proceed with a moderate, steady, and persevering spirit of inquiry, looking rather to the prevention of frauds for the future, than the punishment of those offences which have already passed, and which, if not justified, are at least much palliated, by the immemorial custom of the Moorish government.

“ The councils so to be appointed at Moorshe-dabad and Patna are to have the control of all the business relating to the revenue; but Mahmud Reza Cawn, or some other principal person of the country, must be appointed Naib Dewan for the Bengal province (that is, the Company’s deputy), and all the business must be carried on through the Naib, and under his seal and signing; and, in like manner, Shitab Roy, or some other principal person, at Patna, for the Bahar provinces.

“ The Council of Revenue are to sit daily, or as often as may be necessary for the most minute attention to this important branch of business. The Naib is to give his advice and opinion of the measures necessary to be taken, the officers and collectors requisite to be sent to the different districts, and the orders and powers to be given them; but the council are to consider and determine the whole, and no appointments are to be made, nor the Naib’s seal put to any orders, without

out their approbation ; and copies of all such orders and appointments are to be entered upon their diary, or a book apart, and to be transmitted regularly to England.

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“ We have said, in a former part of this letter, that we have no view to prejudice the rights of the Zemindars, who hold certain districts by inheritance ; but when any of these die without heirs, the lands are to be let for a term of years, and upon such conditions as may encourage improvements in the cultivation. In like manner, where lands lie waste, you should propose terms for settling them, giving the undertakers every advantage possible, to enable them to proceed in a work so beneficial to the community in general, and yielding to the Company, in process of time, a certain increase of revenue.

“ Before we close this subject, we cannot help remarking, that there seems to us to be great danger and impropriety, in having the powers of revenue and the powers of justice in one and the same person, which seems to be the case in the officers of the Foujedary, and, as we apprehend, in most other of the public offices of the several districts. This will be an object worthy of further inquiry ; and if the case is as it appears to us, those powers should be separated and distinct lines drawn.”

Separation of
judicial and
revenue
powers.

These instructions, far from evincing a spirit of rapacity, appear to have been framed with an
anxious

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BENGAL.

anxious desire to acquire the fullest information on the state of the revenue, and to act under it with the utmost consideration towards the natives : most especially in separating the executive and legislative power which had been vested in the hands of one individual.

Mahrattas and
Jauts,

The Mahrattas had constrained the chiefs of the Jauts to come to a settlement, by paying sixty-five lacs at given periods, besides an annual tribute of fifteen lacs, or a cession of lands to that value.* They then advanced and took possession of Etawah. Two of their detachments entered the province of Corah, seized the town of Bettoor, and laid claim to part of the Vizier's dominions, waving, for the moment, the conquest of Delhi.

Measures of
Council.

These aggressions constrained the Council to depart from the principle which they had adopted of non-interference. The dominions guaranteed to the King and Vizier had been attacked or laid claim to by the Company's most formidable enemies. In accordance, therefore, with the treaty, and without waiting for a requisition, the Council determined to give immediate assistance; they felt that delay would only increase the danger, and whatever aid ought to be extended, would prove infinitely more efficacious if promptly afforded. They felt that energetic

* *Vide page 205.*

getic measures on the part of the Company might infuse some degree of vigour into the timid councils of the King, and prevent the Vizier taking advantage of any of the events which frequently arise during a period of confusion, favouring the views of a man of enterprizing and ambitious spirit. The security of the Company's possessions was also involved in the determination. The force at Dinagapore was accordingly ordered to march to the banks of the Caramnassa, and the garrison at Allahabad to be reinforced, to ensure the safety of that fortress, in case of sudden attack during the absence of two of the King's battalions, which had marched from thence, at the requisition of his Majesty.

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In the month of February, the Mahrattas raised the blockade of Furruckabad, and proceeded in separate bodies, with great rapidity, towards Delhi, of which city they took possession, together with several branches of the royal family. It appeared from incontestable proofs, that this step was adopted not only with the concurrence, but actually under the advice and recommendation, of the King himself, his Majesty subsequently admitting that he was prompted to suggest that course, in order to prevent their proclaiming the Shah-zada in his room. It soon became evident that the King's intention was to join the Mahrattas, in the hope that he should effect his long-cherished object of gaining his capital

Mahrattas take
Delhi.

Project of the
King.

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capital and being seated on the throne of his ancestors. It was apparent, that he would rather see his capital in the hands of the Mahrattas, than in those of either Zabta Cawn, son of Nujib-ud Dowla, or his Vizier. The latter, in communication with Sir Robert Barker, proposed that the Company's forces, with those of the King, and his own, should march without delay, and join the Rohillas and Patans, for the purpose of placing the King on the throne at Delhi. The Select Committee, although satisfied that the proposition could never be effected, concurred in it rather than appear to weaken the ties between the Company, the King, and the Vizier, as well as to preserve the King from falling into the hands of the Mahrattas. His Majesty at first acquiesced in the plan, but abandoned it shortly afterwards, and resolved to throw himself into the hands of the enemy. Sir Robert Barker endeavoured to dissuade his Majesty from pursuing such a step, and to induce him to join in the spirited measures apparently adopted by his Vizier for his restoration. It was likewise proposed, that he should send forward the royal standard, accompanied by one of the young princes, rather than undertake the project himself, until affairs appeared more favourable.

1771.

The King, resolutely bent on carrying into effect his plan of proceeding to Delhi, disregarded all the arguments urged by Sir Robert Barker, who

who had pointed out to him the consequences which would probably ensue; and quitted Allahabad on the 15th April, for the purpose of joining the Mahrattas.

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BENGAL.

His Majesty's separation from the Company appeared unavoidable. Any act on the part of the Council, to restrain him, would have induced the Mahrattas to place the Shah-zada on the throne, and might also have irritated the King against the British interests. The Council, therefore, resolved, as a mark of gratitude and respect, that Sir Robert Barker should attend him to the frontier of his province, and pay him every mark of attention. The King felt very sensibly this demonstration, and, at his own request, was permitted to take with him the four three-pounder field-pieces attached to his troops.

King joins the
Mahrattas.

The Vizier, unable to effect any change in the mind of the King, felt it to be his duty to aid him, both with money and troops, in order to promote a measure which he could not prevent; but he, at the same time, manifested a due regard to his own interests: it being discovered that, in consideration of this aid, the King was to deliver over to him the fortress of Allahabad. The negotiation for this object had been conducted so secretly, that the Council were not aware of it, until they received intelligence of the terms on which the cession had been made. This act, on the part of the King, was totally at variance with his professions

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BENGAL.

sions towards the Company, and, at the same time, evinced the determination of the Vizier to avail himself of every opportunity for strengthening his own power. The Council instructed Sir Robert Barker to point out these facts to his Majesty, and to endeavour to obtain the almost impregnable fort of Chunagur for the Company, as a counterpoise to the cession made to the Vizier. The possession of this fortress, and the King's residence in the Lower Provinces, had been strongly urged on the attention of the Council by the Court in 1771 :*—" These, and such further arguments as shall appear most conducive to the end, will, we hope, prevail on the King to establish his residence at Rajah-mul, or Mongheer, or such other place, with the provinces, as may be thought most proper for the purpose, and most likely to preserve to us that influence which is so essential to the Company's welfare.

Court's views.

" The political interests of the Company make us no less solicitous to obtain from Shuja Dowla an exchange of the territories of Bulwunt Sing, for the provinces of Khorah and Allahabad, now held for the King, since by such an exchange our frontiers would be more easily defended, a greater influence would be preserved by us over the neighbouring powers, and we might possibly be relieved from the necessity of keeping up so large
and

* Letter to Bengal, 10th April 1771.

and expensive a military establishment as we have at present in Bengal.

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BENGAL.

“ We are not insensible to the difficulties which may oppose your negotiations on this subject. These, however, we persuade ourselves, may, in time, be overcome, by a proper attention on the part of our servants, and by their availing themselves of the circumstances which may occur, either in the situation, desires, projects, temper, or wants of this prince; and we recommend to you, to lay hold of every opportunity which may offer for accomplishing, by a friendly negotiation, so desirable an end.

“ There is another object, of the most essential consequence, which calls for the utmost exertion of your abilities; we mean, the obtaining from Shuja Dowla the absolute cession to us of the fort of Chunagur.

“ As we have experienced the strength of this fortress, and are sensible of the vast importance the possession of it would be to the Company, you must use your utmost endeavours to acquire, by friendly means, what could not be retained without violence; we, therefore, enjoin you not to leave unessayed any effort which prudence can suggest, for obtaining from Shuja Dowla, the cession of Chunagur Fort. But as our view is to acquire it by treaty, not by force, and considering also the situation, power, and influence of this Soubah, your negotiations must be conducted with the
greatest

1771.
BENGAL.

greatest caution and delicacy ; and you must strive, by every fair and honourable means, to strengthen his friendship and engage his confidence ; nevertheless, you must not abate of your attention to all his motions, nor forego any opportunity to impress him with an opinion of our activity and power.

“ And here we take occasion to observe, that should we at any time obtain from him the cession of this fortress, you must not fail to keep in it a strong garrison of Europeans, under the command of an able and experienced officer, which possession would enable you to do ; since the security, which our possessions would thereby receive, would admit of a reduction in our other garrisons.

“ Sensible of the difficulties which opposed your endeavours to obtain the removal of M. Gentil from the court and councils of Shuja Dowla, we approve of the delicacy with which you have acted towards the Vizier, in your requisitions on this subject ; but, as we cannot see a person of the abilities of M. Gentil (a natural enemy of this nation, as well as of the Company) continuing in possession of a power to promote the designs of France, and not be alarmed for the consequences of his influence at the Soubah’s Court, you must, therefore, lay hold of the first favourable opportunity to renew your request to Shuja Dowla, to remove M. Gentil from his service.”

The

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BENGAL.

The King left in the hands of the Council two of the young princes, as the best pledge of his faith, and proceeded by slow marches through the Corah province. Sir Robert Barker attended him to within seven coss of its boundary, and on the 30th June had his final audience of leave. His Majesty gave the strongest assurances of friendship for the English nation, and of the grateful sense he entertained of the support and assistance they had at all times afforded him. The Council entreated his Majesty to be convinced of the attachment which they felt towards him, and of the readiness with which the Company would receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune compel him once more to return to his provinces.*

The Vizier had formed an alliance with the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rhamet, to guard against the Mahrattas, who threatened to deprive him of the Vizerat, unless he joined the King's standard at Shahjehanabad,† where his Majesty arrived on the 6th January, 1772. He had also encouraged Frenchmen to enter into his service: the model of a new fort, intended to be erected by him, having been prepared in a masterly manner by a French engineer. These steps were not to be considered as manifesting any doubt on his part of the sincerity of the English feeling towards him,

* Letter, 31st August, 1771.

† Delhi.

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MADRAS.

him, but as indicating an apprehension of the Mahratta power, which was, in some measure, participated in by the Council.

Carnatic liable
to irruptions.

The Council at Madras advised the Court, that Mhaderao, the Mahratta chief, had expressed great dissatisfaction at the conclusion of the treaty with Hyder,* in August, 1769, as he had meditated an attack on the Mysore country, or on the Carnatic, in conjunction with Janojee, with whom he had come to terms. "Thus situated, amidst powers whose ambition will never suffer them to remain quiet, and whose interests lead them to disturb the peace of their neighbours, whenever their interest incites them to do so, it may easily be conceived how liable to interruption the peace in the Nabob's possessions must be." The Council stated that they expected to be pressed by each party for aid; but as the Court had drawn the line "which appeared most eligible," they determined to pursue the course pointed out, as far as possible.

Hyder seeks
aid against the
Mahrattas.

Hyder, in the month of December, urged the Council to assist him against the Mahrattas, and referred to the treaty of 1769 as the ground for such demand. The Council evaded compliance, asserting that they could not be called upon to assist him, when it appeared that he was the aggressor—his refusal of the *chout* being cited in
proof

* *Vide page 266.*

proof that such was the case. The inconvenience of the treaty now forcibly pressed itself upon the Council. They were glad to avail themselves of any plea, to avoid being involved in fresh expense and hostilities, whether as principals or allies, being in daily expectation of the arrival of the Supervisors, to whose decision they desired to leave the matter.

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The Mahrattas entered Mysore in February. Hyder endeavoured to take post and secure the passes, to prevent their penetrating into the Bid-denore country. At this juncture, a vakeel arrived from Mhaderao, and expressed to the Council a strong desire, on the part of his master, to cement the friendship between him and the Company, referring, at the same time, to the Nabob of Arcot with regard to other points. These proceedings of Mhaderao grew out of the mission of Mr. Brome to Poonah, already noticed.* The Council felt embarrassed by the Mahratta chief referring to this circumstance. The mission of Mr. Brome had been resolved upon by the Council as a last resource, in the hope that some fortuitous event would set it aside. Such proved to be the case, as the treaty with the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and others, was concluded before the propositions, with which Mr. Brome was entrusted, were made known. Still, the object of the mission became sufficiently

Mahrattas
enter Mysore.

* *Vide* page 241.

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sufficiently public to authorize Mhaderao to claim, upon the ground of reciprocity, equal consideration at the hands of the Council. The latter felt themselves bound by the Court's orders, and admitted that, if it were practicable for them to remain passive spectators, and permit the native powers to exhaust each other, it was the most prudent course. They knew the Mahratta to be the most dangerous power; and that even the united forces of the Company and of Hyder would not reduce them, whilst it might lead to their making a conquest of the whole of Mysore, and thus establish, at the door of the Company's possessions, a more powerful foe than even Hyder. On the other hand, were they to join Hyder, they were aware that a more advantageous offer from his enemies would draw him off the next day.

Nabob desires
to join Mahrattas;
supported
by Sir John
Lindsay.

The Nabob of Arcot was anxious to act with the Mahrattas. In this critical situation, the Council, desirous to avoid taking any part, assured Hyder's vakeel, that if they could not act with him, they would not act against him. The Soubah advanced to the banks of the Kistna, and there waited to see which party prevailed.

The non-arrival of the Supervisors, and the circumstances connected with the debts of the Nabob of the Carnatic, increased the difficulties of the Council, the Nabob's private creditors infusing into his mind an idea that they had power and influence to overrule the Court of Directors at home.

home. Their embarrassments were enhanced by the conduct of Sir John Lindsay, who, having arrived from Bombay, assumed, under what he considered to be plenipotentiary powers, a right to inquire into the conduct of the late war, and to hold direct communication with the Nabob. By this proceeding, the Council were not only placed at direct variance with his highness, but colour was given to the idea that there was a superior authority to the Company, to whom the Nabob could resort, as occasion or caprice might dispose him. Sir John Lindsay went so far as to require the Council to attend him when he proceeded to deliver the King's letter to the Nabob: he also desired them to furnish him with such papers and documents of the Company as he might see fit.

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The Council determined to support the authority of government, and not to "degrade themselves" by being mere attendants on a functionary, of whose powers they were not satisfied. They felt that there was no medium. They observed, "we either must have delivered to him our papers and records, or not;—we must either have rendered him an account of our transactions, or not;—we must have admitted him to have shared in our deliberations, or not. There appeared to be no room for hesitation. We were charged with the Company's affairs—we had no instructions from our constituents. Their rights were attacked: we

Difference with
Sir John
Lindsay.

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must either have supported, or basely surrendered them. Our fortunes may be at stake in the issue ; but were our lives at equal hazard, we should, without a moment's hesitation, have taken the part we have taken. The die is cast ; we must stand the issue." Such were the terms in which the Council announced their having declined to obey the unauthorized requisitions of Sir John Lindsay.

A mission more pregnant with danger to the Company's interests on the coast could not have been well devised.

Conduct of
Court as to Sir
John Lindsay.

The advices from Madras, which announced these differences with Sir John Lindsay, reached the Court of Directors, by the *Lapwing*, on the 22d of March 1771. On the 8th of April, they addressed the following letter to the Earl of Rochford, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State :

Letter from
Court to his
Majesty's
Minister, as to
Sir John
Lindsay.

" The late advices from India, brought by the *Lapwing*, are of so very interesting and alarming a nature, that we think ourselves indispensably obliged to lay the purport of them before his Majesty's Ministers, together with our sentiments on the present state of the East-India Company's affairs upon the coast of Coromandel, produced as we have reason to apprehend, from the exertion of powers which, till within a few days past, we could not have the least reason to conceive were ever delegated to Sir John Lindsay, in any quality he holds from his Majesty in the East-Indies.

Sir John Lindsay, my Lord, in express contradiction to the assurance given to the Company by his Majesty's Secretary of State, your Lordship's predecessor in office, has,
under

under his hand, insisted that he has his Majesty's authority and plenipotentiary powers from the Crown, to execute any treaty with the *Princes of the country*, which may be judged necessary to preserve peace in *India*.

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MADRAS.

He has also, in like manner, insisted that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint him his minister, and to invest him with *plenipotentiary powers* to treat with the Princes of India. The first intelligence this Company received of their existence, was communicated to them by their Presidency of Madras, by advices which arrived so late as the 22d ultimo. If they appear alarming now, well might they be thought in the utmost degree perplexing and distressful to the Company's servants there, who are told by Sir John Lindsay, that he is commanded by the King to apply to the Governor and Council of that settlement for a full and succinct account of all their transactions with the Nabob since the Treaty of Paris (concluded near eight years before this requisition); that it is his Majesty's pleasure he should enquire, with the utmost care, into the causes of the late war with the Soubah of the Deccan and Hyder Ally, and the reason of its unfortunate consequences; and he, therefore, makes no doubt but they will, with the utmost alacrity, put him in possession of the original papers, or authenticated copies of *all their transactions* since the said Definitive Treaty, in order to enable him to render a faithful account thereof to the King; and that the wisdom of Government may co-operate with the prudence of the Company, to establish a lasting peace in India.

We beg leave to express our hopes, that our servants, in the situation and circumstances they found themselves, will stand fully excused in your Lordship's sight, as they do in ours, for not considering themselves warranted to comply with such a demand. At the same time, we must beg leave seriously to affirm, that the *promulgation* of the plenipotentiary powers,

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powers, claimed by Sir John Lindsay, must necessarily end in the total loss of authority and consequence to the Company in India, where all princes being despotic, they will never be brought to believe, that when the King of England delegates his power to a minister, the representatives of the East-India Company are entitled to any confidence, regard, or attention. Such, in truth, my Lord, are the consequences already, in no small degree, felt by this Company.

The Governor and Council of Madras, in their letters, affirm, that since the arrival of Sir John Lindsay, and the operation of his extraordinary powers, their influence is greatly diminished, and that the most fatal consequences to the Company are to be apprehended. It is our duty, as representatives of the East-India Company, concurring with our Presidency abroad in their sentiments, to lay before your Lordship our apprehensions also, that unless some speedy remedy be applied, the ruin of the Company, from the loss of their consequence, influence, and credit, will infallibly ensue."

Lord Rochford's reply was dated St. James's, 20th April 1771 :

" In answer to your letter of the 8th instant, I must inform you, that the repeated complaints made by the Company of the mismanagement and disobedience of their servants in India, which caused them to desire from the Legislature more extensive powers for their coercion, and induced them to send out Supervisors invested with the highest authority, first suggested to his Majesty the expediency of giving his commission to a person of confidence, to procure the fullest information on the spot, of the manner in which affairs had been conducted in that country ; the thorough knowledge of which the King could not but consider as a principal
national

national concern, as well as of the greatest consequence to the interest of the Company. His Majesty was the more called upon, in this case, as his own honour, pledged for the performance of the engagements entered into by him in the last Definitive Treaty, was in the hands of the Company's servants carrying on the government in India.

His Majesty has reason to apprehend, that the Governor and Council of Madras gave themselves the first rise to the opinion of a contest between the King and the Company, by their improper reception of Sir John Lindsay, and their refusal to do the usual honours to the delivery of his Majesty's letter and presents; which opinion, if it should at first starting be worked up by the ignorance of the people of that country, and their ideas of despotism, into prejudices hurtful to the consequence and influence of the Company, cannot but be checked in a short time, by the positive instructions given to Sir John Lindsay to avoid, as far as possible, even the appearance of any dispute with the Company, which might produce the most unfortunate consequences in the present state of affairs.

The King, in his last letter to the Nabob, has been pleased to express his confidence in the Company, and his desire to connect them inseparably with that prince; and Sir Robert Harland, whom his Majesty has appointed to succeed to the commission of Sir John Lindsay, besides the particular orders given him to promote, as far as possible, a strict union between the Nabob and the servants of the Company, and to remove every suspicion of the Company's lying under the King's displeasure, received instructions to make the support of their importance and honour in the eyes of all the powers in India, a principal point of his attention.

I have received his Majesty's commands to repeat those instructions, and to guard against any mistake of the real extent

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extent and meaning of the powers given Sir Robert Harland, by conveying to him such an explanation of them as will leave no reason of apprehension to the Company ; but on the contrary, will, whenever they shall be exerted, be a convincing proof of his Majesty's paternal care and regard for their interests, by shewing them to be the object of his protection and support."

Reasons for
inserting pro-
ceedings at
length.

It may be remarked, that a reference to matters of so remote a date might have been spared, as they have long ceased to possess the interest which belonged to them when the events occurred. The same remark will apply with equal force to all historical records. In tracing the chain of events which took place in the extension of our power in India, it cannot be uninteresting to many who have been associated in the administration of the affairs of that empire, to learn the difficulties with which the home authorities had to contend, and the course which they followed, in maintaining their rights, and in meeting those difficulties, before they became subject to the legislative control which was engrafted on their chartered privileges ; and although that control circumscribed their powers, it so identified the interests of the State with those of the Company, that the latter were relieved from a recurrence of the embarrassments which they had experienced in early times from the want of aid in most critical and trying junctures.

Council dis-
pute powers of
General Coote.

The Council had injudiciously involved themselves in a dispute with Major-General Eyre Coote, who

who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Company's forces, by the Court of Directors. A difference of opinion arose, as to the terms in which the General was to be announced in orders to the army, on assuming the command.

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MADRAS.

The Council proposed that the same terms should be used as on the occasion of General Lawrence's appointment: to this General Coote objected. The Council, impressed with the necessity of preserving the supremacy of the civil power, suggested, in order to obviate the greater evil, that in lieu of a general order being published, letters should be addressed to all the commanding officers, to make their returns to General Coote. The General would not consent to this; and he determined to remain in a private capacity, until he received the opinion of the Councils at the other presidencies.

As the remodelling the military establishment required that no time should be lost, Brigadier-General Smith was requested by the Council to take the command of the troops on the coast; but believing that General Coote intended very shortly to proceed to Bengal, he suggested that the order might be deferred until his departure. General Coote did not remain in India: he quitted Madras for Bombay, from whence he proceeded to Busso-rah, and thence to England *via* Paris. The Court condemned, in strong terms, the conduct of the Council towards General Coote, who was requested

General Coote
returns to
England.

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Rajah of Tanjore, and the Nabob of Arcot's claims on him.

quested to hold himself in readiness to return to India.

The conduct of the Rajah of Tanjore had been animadverted upon by the Court of Directors, in consequence of his backwardness in joining the Company's forces with his horse, during the hostilities with Hyder, and, that when they did join, they had been of little or no use. The Rajah had received protection at the hands of the Company, and his country had enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity; it was, therefore, considered unreasonable, that he should withhold all contribution towards the preservation of his possessions, which were very fruitful, affording abundant means for supplying the troops engaged in the defence of the Carnatic, an object in which he was deeply interested.* The Nabob had made strong representations to the Council, in support of his claims on the Rajah of Travancore, and the Court of Directors had enjoined the Council to give the Nabob every assistance, consistent with justice, in prosecuting them.

Correspondence of Hyder with Tanjore.

The Council were at this time apprised that a correspondence had been carried on between Hyder and the Rajah. The former had promised to obtain a remission of the *peshcush* due from the Rajah to the Nabob, in consideration of the assistance the Rajah had offered him. A communication

* Letter to Madras, 1769.

tion was stated to have been made to the Nabob's vakeel from Hyder that, although it was not the intention of the English to afford him any assistance, he should nevertheless use his endeavours to obtain it. There was also reason to believe that Hyder was in correspondence with M. Law at Pondicherry.

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In this state of affairs, the Council addressed the Court in the following terms:—"We are surrounded with difficulties, which we cannot, dare not, venture to explain or even suggest; but should our apprehensions not be completely verified, by the failure in any one instance, the whole might seem the effect of prejudice. The views of the ministry, such as they appear to us—the secret transactions between the Nabob and Sir John Lindsay—the fluctuating state of the Company's affairs—the prepossession in favour of the Nabob, which he knows full well, and even more, we believe, from private than public assurances—all these create doubts which, in better times, in all our difficulties and all our dangers, we should oppose with resolution, firmness, and perseverance, were we even but sure of support from the Court of Directors. With respect to ourselves personally, we consider our fate as sealed by our transactions with Sir John Lindsay and with General Coote. We are right, or we are wrong: there is no medium. But in regard to the Company, permit us to recommend some stable form of government

Embarrassments of the Council.

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MADRAS.

ment and system, in which you may confide, and which you will support ; for without a confidence, on the part of those whom you employ, that they will be supported, their measures never can have that firmness, spirit, and vigour, which are so essentially necessary to the prosperity of your affairs."

Court's views
as to the con-
duct of the
Council.

Before the answer of Lord Rochford to the Court's representation regarding Sir John Lindsay's conduct had been received by them, they addressed the Madras Council, approving of their conduct towards the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally. They expressed regret at the Nabob's differing in opinion with the Council, and trusted that they would find means to divert his mind from Mhaderao. They perceived with anxiety, that the affections of the Nabob, and his confidence in the Council, had been of late much weakened ; they wished the Council to deliberate on the steps to be taken, with coolness and impartiality, and once being resolved, to act with vigour and effect ; assuring them that being conscious of the purity of their intentions, they should receive the support of the Court.

In alluding to the war between Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, the Court remarked, that the views of the Council were expressed in a strain of timidity and despondence, unsuited to the Company's real situation in India. They observed ; " Fear begets weakness in council, and irresolution in action.

action. It is in a choice of difficulties, that greatness of mind finds an opportunity of distinguishing itself. Conscious of our own superiority and power in India, it seems to be our proper line of conduct to observe a steady and uniform neutrality, till such time as our own dignity and interest call upon us to interfere, and then a favourable moment should be seized." The Court did not perceive that the war carried the appearance of any immediate danger. They considered that the dissensions among the Indian powers could only serve to augment the influence of the Company, who, while they shewed their strength and kept it up, would be courted equally by all parties. The moment the Company adhered to any one party, they would make enemies of all the rest. It was the desire of the Court to fulfil, in the most scrupulous manner, all engagements with the Nabob ; but viewing things in a more general light, it would certainly be of no consequence to the Company, who were masters of the Carnatic, provided it were kept out of the hands of their European rivals, the French.

They desired the Council to represent to the Nabob in the strongest, although in the most respectful terms, the injury he did himself, in endeavouring to create a difference between the King's and the Company's servants and in imagining a separation of interests, when, in the end, he would be convinced none could exist. Whatever trifling
disputes

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disputes of form and ceremony might have arisen between them at the first, he would soon see that, in essentials, they must and would agree. The Company's connexion with the Nabob stood entirely on ancient friendship and reciprocal kindness: the Court wished to continue it on the same footing; but they observed, the Company could not be compelled to follow his projects when they appeared totally repugnant to our interests. So, on the other hand, the Nabob could not be forced into the Company's views, should they be disagreeable to him: all that was, therefore, left was to expostulate with him. He would determine for himself, and the Company for themselves. The dangers which threatened the Carnatic, from the Mahrattas, were more immediately the object of his concern than of the Company; and the joining Hyder Ally (even were it expedient), without the concurrence of the Nabob, would be a measure of perplexity, as it might lead to a situation where the different engagements of the Company clash, *viz.* that of supporting the Nabob by the Treaty of Paris, and of defending Hyder by the last treaty with him: engagements which it might also become impossible at the same time to fulfil.

With regard to Sir John Lindsay, the Court observed, that it did not become them to pronounce on his conduct, unacquainted as they were with the extent of his powers and the nature

ture of his instructions ; but they had a right to judge of that of their own servants, and it was with pleasure they declared their perfect satisfaction in the general line of the Council's behaviour, and their acquiescence in every step they had taken for the support of their own dignity and the rights and privileges of the Company, which, the Court felt, "rested upon as high authority as the King's commission—Royal Charters, confirmed by repeated Acts of Parliament."

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The Court, at the same time, expressed their persuasion, that the disagreements and disunion of councils, between the representative of the Crown and the servants of the Company, were altogether repugnant to his Majesty's gracious intentions. It was apparent from Lord Rochford's letter, that Sir John Lindsay had no authority to demand of the Council a succinct account of all their measures, or to be put in possession of the original papers relating to their transactions since the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris.*

Admiral Sir Robert Harland, who had been appointed to succeed Sir John Lindsay, with the same powers, and a more respectable naval force, was charged with instructions from the King, to avoid, on any occasion, the appearance of lessening the consequence of the Company in the eyes of the natives of India, and he received the
strongest

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strongest injunctions, to remove the then existing causes of disquiet and disunion.

At the time that these points were engaging the attention of the authorities in England, the Nabob of the Carnatic, supported by Sir John Lindsay, was urging the Council at Madras to join him in an alliance with the Mahrattas against Hyder.

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Council refuse
to join the
Nabob in an
alliance with
the Mahrattas.

The Council refused to concur in such a step, and dwelt upon the injury which arose to the Company's affairs, by such an interference as that exercised by Sir John Lindsay. "To give you," observed the Council, in writing to the Court, "a clear representation of the dangerous embarrassments through which we have been struggling to carry on your affairs, since the arrival of his Majesty's powers in this country, is a task far beyond our abilities: they are daily more and more oppressive to us. It has always been our opinion, that, with your authority, we had that of our Sovereign and nation delegated to us through you, for managing the important concerns of our country under this Presidency. It is upon the prevalence of this opinion in India that our influence and your interests are vitally founded. It was in the confidence of this opinion that your servants, exerting all their vigour, acquired such power and wealth for their country."

After offering some remarks, as to what might have been the objects and motives of his Majesty's Government

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Government in sending Sir John Lindsay to India, the Council pointed out the striking opposition between that officer's political system when he first reached India, and that by which he was now governed. "At first he was the declared guardian of peace; now, he declares for hostile measures, and accuses us of a criminal inactivity. He would willingly lead us into war, to favour the Mahrattas and increase their power; and, not succeeding in that, he would drive us into immediate hostilities with Tanjore, before we are prepared to act with vigour and effect, even with the certainty of bringing down the Mahrattas in an hostile invasion on the Carnatic, and at the risk of tempting the Nizam to an attack upon the Northern Circars.

"Were we permitted to deliver our sentiments relative to the preservation of the national interests here, we should humbly offer it as an opinion that, if his Majesty will not be pleased to recall his servant and powers, and leave us uncontrolled, but accountable for our measures, there is a necessity that the forces we command be taken into the hands of the Crown, and transferred with plenary powers to the absolute direction of his Majesty's minister."

The erroneous impressions that had been created in the mind of the Nabob, received additional force from a matter which, under the existing circumstances, tended to lower the Presidency, and add to the importance of his Highness. A

1771. despatch reached the Council, announcing that
 MADRAS. his Majesty had been pleased to confer the dignity of Knight of the Bath on Sir John Lindsay and Major-General Coote, and that the insignia of the order had been sent to the Nabob, with full instructions for his investing the knights with the order.

Rajah of Tan-
 jore.

The conduct of the Rajah of Tanjore towards some of the Polygar chiefs, increased the points of difference between the Nabob and the Council. The Rajah had advanced, in the month of April, against the Marawar country, under pretence that some districts had been wrested from the Tanjore government. The claim to those districts was resisted by the Nabob, who contended that the Rajah was a tributary to the Circar of the Carnatic, and that he had no right to call the Polygars to account. The Council were satisfied of the impropriety of the Rajah's conduct; the President addressed a letter to him, pointing out the relation in which he stood towards the Nabob, and the surprise that had been occasioned by his proceeding to attack Moravee, a Polygar dependent upon the Trichinopoly country.

His proceed-
 ings against
 Polygars.

The Rajah stated in reply :—" If I suffer Moravee to take possession of my country, Nalcooty to take my elephants, and Tondaman to injure my country, it will be a dishonour to me among the people, to see such compulsions used by the Polygars. You are a protector of my government; notwithstanding

notwithstanding, you have not settled a single affair. I have finished the affairs relating to Moravee, and confirmed him in his business: the affair with Nalcooty remains to be finished, which I shall also finish."

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It was ultimately settled, that recourse should be had to negotiation; and as the Tanjore vakeel did not possess authority to settle the disputes, the Nabob resolved to depute his eldest son, OM-DUT-UL-OMRAH, to Trichinopoly. His mission was supported by the Council's despatching troops and stores for Trichinopoly, to be in readiness to act against Tanjore, should circumstances call for such a measure.

Nabob's son
proceeds
against Tan-
jore.

The Rajah refused submission. A force under General Smith accordingly marched from Trichinopoly, on the 13th September, and arrived before Vellum, eight miles south-west of Tanjore, on the 16th. On the morning of the 20th, a battery was opened against it, and at midnight the fort was evacuated. On the 23d, Tanjore was invested. On the 27th, at the moment the breach was reported practicable, a letter was received by General Smith, from Omdut-ul-Omrah, announcing terms of accommodation; and, on the 27th of October, a peace was concluded between the Nabob and the Rajah, without the intervention of the Company.*

The fort of Vellum was ceded to the Nabob,
who

* *Vide* Printed Treaties.

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who requested that the Council would place a garrison in it, in order to render it an effectual check on the Rajah's conduct. The Marawar and Nalcooty Polygars not having obeyed the requisition of the Nabob, to join with their forces in the operations against the Rajah, the Nabob urged the Council to call them to account.

Sir Robert
Harland
reaches Madras
and delivers
King's letter
to Nabob.

Sir Robert Harland reached Madras, in command of a squadron of his Majesty's ships, on the 2d of September. He announced his arrival to the Council, whom he met assembled on the 13th, and informed them that he possessed full powers, as the King's plenipotentiary, to inquire into the observance of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris; and that he had a letter from his Majesty to the Nabob. The letter was delivered to his Highness by the Admiral, the troops in the garrison attending the ceremonial. On the 1st of October, having intimated to the Council his readiness to be of any use in the progress of their affairs, he quitted the roads, in order to avoid the approaching monsoon, and retired to Trincomalee, despatching a vessel to ascertain the state of the French force at the Mauritius, which was reported to be very considerable.

In the early part of December, there being reason to apprehend that the Mahrattas were advancing towards the Carnatic, the Council resolved to move the troops into a central position,
that

that they might more effectually present a check to their incursions.

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The Nabob being opposed to this measure, still pressed the Council to assist him, by joining with the Mahrattas against Hyder. The President had an interview with the Nabob, at which he pointed out his Highness's total want of means to defray the charge of such a proceeding, even were it sound in point of policy. Failing in inducing the Council to fall in with his views, the Nabob called in the aid of Sir Robert Harland, and stated to him the advantages which the Mahrattas had promised, in the event of his assisting them, in conjunction with the English, and the distress which would be occasioned to him should he not effect that object: adding, that he had been called upon to pay a considerable sum to the Company; that he had a load of debt; that his treasury was inadequate to meet all these demands; that an invasion of his territories would lead to the destruction of the Carnatic; and that he, therefore, appealed to, and claimed, the royal protection.

Council decline to join the Nabob with the Mahrattas against Hyder.

This proceeding led Sir Robert Harland to address the Council. He stated that, should a peace be refused to the Mahrattas, on the terms which they proposed, they threatened to destroy the whole of the Carnatic "with fire and sword," and they had a great army on the frontiers to carry their threats into execution. The Admiral was not backward in asserting and acting upon the

Sir Robert Harland supports views of Nabob.

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the powers which he considered he possessed. He observed, that the peace of the Carnatic, the prosperity of the Company, the preservation of the British interests, and the permanency of their influence in India, appeared to him very proper objects for the attention of a "national plenipotentiary." "As it is possible I may think them of consequence enough to require a national alliance for their security, and as the particular interests of the United Company of Merchants will be a very material consideration, I am to demand of you, as their confidential servants, such lights as may direct my judgment, and particularly what are your reasons for refusing to acquiesce in what the Nabob thinks the only measure for the preservation of his country, and what appears to me to offer the only prospect of security, in the present circumstances, to the British interests in this part of India."* He, at the same time, transmitted to the Council a copy of his commission from the King.

Differences
between Coun-
cil and Sir
Robert Har-
land.

The Council felt that they could not communicate their transactions in the affairs of the Company, for the same reasons which had weighed with them in the case of Sir John Lindsay. They, therefore, determined to address two letters to the Admiral; the one in his character of plenipotentiary, declaring why they declined putting him in possession of what he had called for regarding

* Military Consultations, 1771.

garding the Company's transactions, observing at the same time, that it was above all things their most anxious desire to manifest their unfeigned allegiance and inviolable attachment to his Majesty's most sacred person and government; but that they could not render an account of their conduct to any one but a constitutional authority, such as the Parliament of Great Britain and the Courts of Civil Judicature. The other letter was addressed to Sir Robert Harland, as commander of the King's ships, wherein they observed: "We have it now in the most authentic manner from you, as his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, that they threaten to destroy the whole Carnatic with fire and sword, if certain conditions which they require are not submitted to; which conditions are, as you express it, and as we believe they express it, friendship with the English and the Nabob, and a certain assistance from both, against Hyder Ally, who is their enemy. Words are only used to convey ideas, and the same words may convey different, and even contrary ideas, according to the circumstances that attend them. Thus, if the Mahrattas were to propose friendship with the English and the Nabob, in the way that states generally propose treaties of friendship for mutual advantage, we should understand by it what the word in its primitive and natural sense implies, and should most gladly embrace it, in any way that might
be

1771.
MADRAS.

1771.

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be advantageous to the Company's commerce, productive of security to their possessions, and consistent with the rights and powers granted to them by charter ; but, when they require friendship and assistance, and denounce threats of fire and sword, if their demands are not complied with, the words change their meaning. It is no more friendship they propose ; it is an abject submission they demand to their imperious will ; such a submission as is conformable to the usage of the country. The subjected powers are always compelled to attend the haughty conquerors with a certain number of troops. This is not all. It is not only a demand of servile submission they require ; they mean to render it still more humiliating : it must be accompanied with the most flagrant breach of national faith. A formal treaty of peace and amity was concluded between this Presidency, on the part of the Company and Hyder Ally Cawn, in the year 1769. He hath committed no act that can give the least attain to that engagement, at least that we know of ; but, on the contrary, he hath granted to the Company all the privileges and advantages of trade in his country, which they enjoyed before the late war with him. The Mahrattas add to their haughty demand, this specific condition—that the assistance to be given them by the English and the Nabob be expressly employed, in open violation of the faith of that treaty, against Hyder Ally

Ally Cawn. We, therefore, offer it as our opinion, that a submission to such a demand would be in the highest degree derogatory to the honour of the British nation, and contrary to the interests of the Company." They concluded by suggesting, that the most effectual mode of securing the Carnatic, and, consequently, the Nabob, against the Mahrattas, would be by a diversion on the Malabar coast.

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Sir Robert Harland declined to separate his character as Commander-in-chief from that of Plenipotentiary. After commenting upon the various points urged by the Council, in support of the policy which they determined to follow, he observed, "Your charge of an unconstitutional act cannot be against me: I do no more than my duty. But it seems to me to be directly pointed at the Royal Authority and the undoubted rights of the Crown; and when you take upon you to censure a measure which is the sacred privilege of Majesty, and the constitutional rights of your Sovereign, let me tell you it is very unbecoming; it is presumptuous, it is arrogant; and I know not whether it may not be looked upon as criminal in the eye of the law, as it is an undoubted maxim in the British Government, that the privileges of the prince are equally sacred with the liberty of the subject."*

On the 28th December, he declared it to be
his

* Consultations, 26th December, 1771.

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his intention to enter into a negociation with the Mahrattas, through Mhaderao, or any one he might appoint. After expressing his respect for the East-India Company, he stated, “ I must and shall, upon every such important occasion, always make a great distinction between the real interests of the greatest commercial body in the world, and the private views and interested consideration of individuals.” The Council indignantly repelled this insinuation. Sir Robert Harland persevered in treating with the Mahrattas, and the Council as firmly abstained from taking part in such a proceeding. At this juncture, they were put in possession of the Court’s views* regarding the line of conduct to be observed towards the Nabob, the Mahrattas, Hyder, and his Majesty’s plenipotentiary, which fortified them in their determination to preserve neutrality as far as possible.

1772.
The Admiral
intends to treat
with the Mah-
rattas.

The Council were apprised by Sir Robert Harland, that he had proposed to the Mahrattas, in the name of the King of England, a cessation of hostilities between their nation, the English, and the Nabob of the Carnatic, until such time as his Majesty’s pleasure should be known : and that he understood the Mahrattas had acceded to the proposal, and withdrawn their troops from the frontiers.

This transaction presented a singular specimen of diplomacy. A minister plenipotentiary from
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* *Vide* page 301.

the Crown of Great Britain, writing in his Majesty's name to a Mahratta general, proposing a cessation of hostilities between their nation, the English, and the Nabob, when neither of the latter powers had committed any act of hostility: the Nabob having opposed the advance of the English army for the protection of his borders, which the Mahrattas were plundering, whilst the Nabob and the English were calmly looking on!

The Council having acknowledged, in courteous terms, the communication from the Admiral as to the negotiations with the Mahrattas; there was reason to anticipate that here all differences would have terminated. Another circumstance, however arose, which occasioned an irreparable breach between the two authorities.

The Admiral had claimed many of the Company's European soldiers, on the ground of their being deserters from his Majesty's service. Some of these men having, in the opinion of the Council, been improperly wrested from them, a protracted correspondence took place, in the course of which the Council strongly remonstrated against Sir Robert Harland countenancing the acts of his officers. He ultimately issued directions for their desisting from further claims; but nevertheless characterised the conduct of the Council as "diabolically mischievous, and flagrantly unjust." Having declined, after a statement by the Council, which they considered fully refuted the charge,

to

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Sir Robert
Harland em-
barks without
usual honours.

to offer any explanation or apology, the Council desisted from all further communication.

The Admiral embarked from Madras on the 7th October, without paying the usual compliment of taking leave of the President as *Governor of the Fort*. The omission appeared, by a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher to the President,* to have been premeditated on the part of Sir Robert Harland. He was, accordingly, neither accompanied by the Governor to the beach, or saluted from the Fort; both which marks of honour had been observed towards Sir John Lindsay, who took formal leave

* Letter from Sir Robert Fletcher to the Honourable Jonas Du Pré, Esq., dated Fort St. George, 7th October 1773 :

“Dear Sir ;—When I took leave of the admiral, the 5th instant, I told him that, by a conversation I had had with you, I understood you was then unacquainted with the time of his intended departure, and that you mentioned to me his having been at your Garden-house to ask Mrs Du Pré’s commands for Bombay, without paying you the usual compliment, or giving you any intimation of his departure. The admiral said, he could pay no such compliment to any servant of the Company, and that his visit was to Mrs. Du Pré. I replied, I was sorry for such unhappy misunderstanding ; that I knew the Governor meant to attend him to the surf and pay him every due compliment, if he would but observe the usual forms of communication with him ; but if he did not, I feared it would interfere with the honours intended to be shewn him at parting. He answered, ‘ Mr. Du Pré is the best judge of that.’

“I am, &c.

(Signed) “ROB. FLETCHER.”

“P.S. The above is, perhaps, not word for word my conversation with the admiral, but I am sure it is strictly the sense and meaning of it.”

leave of the President, notwithstanding the differences between them had been greater than those with Sir Robert Harland.

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The Council remarked, “ that ceremonies are trifles in private life, and merely as they touch the individual ; but opinion and usage have made public honours necessary to public characters, and have proportioned those honours to the character. In that light, they become important ; and supinely to receive an intended slight degrades the office and invites further indignity.” Although the honour was withheld from the individual, the Council gave strict orders that the moment the squadron got under weigh, a salute of fifteen guns should be fired from the Fort ; but the squadron remained at anchor during the whole of the day, and sailed in the night.

Thus terminated a mission, which was originally based upon erroneous principles, and in its progress produced embarrassments and differences, little calculated to promote either the public character or interests.

The Council drew the attention of the Court to the position in which they stood towards the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore, and pointed out the relation of those two powers to each other.

Relations with
the Nabob and
Tanjore.

The province of Tanjore was so situated, that the Carnatic would always be a natural barrier to it against invaders by land ; and it was, therefore reasonable that it should always bear a part of
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1772.

MADRAS.

the charge of repelling such invaders. The tribute Tanjore paid to the Carnatic, in peace as well as war, was considered only as an acknowledgement of superiority; what quota of troops or pecuniary aid it should supply appeared to have been arbitrary, or rather what the government of the Carnatic could compel, Tanjore having refused both, when its ruler felt that he had power to support such refusal. The Council observed, "this is by no means peculiar to these two states; the same principle prevails throughout Hindostan."

The principle was that of power; and, though it had long prevailed, it became more generally felt after the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the assumption of power by the various Omrahs, whose influence increased as that of the Mogul was diminished. The Council stated, that want of means,—the uncertainty of the designs of the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and Hyder,—and the provisions of the treaty in which the Rajah of Tanjore was included,—all combined against the exercise of coercive measures, in 1770, for the purpose of supporting the claim against him for the defence of his country, and for the payment to the Nabob of the *peshcush*, which the Company had guaranteed.

The subsequent operations against Tanjore were occasioned by the Rajah's indifference towards the Nabob, and his prosecuting hostilities against
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the Polygars, over whose country Mahomed Ally claimed jurisdiction. The Tanjoreans were greatly exasperated against the Nabob, being impressed with a conviction that he intended to possess himself of the whole of their country, on the first favourable opportunity. It was the opinion of the Council, that this impression would lead the Rajah to join any power, should disturbances arise in the Carnatic, which would enable him to throw off the yoke of the Nabob. They considered, that the Company's guarantee of the engagement of Tanjore with the Nabob, had been cancelled by the late proceedings under Omdut-ul-Omrah, and that the Rajah would thus be left at the mercy of Mahomed Ally; they, therefore, gave it as their decided opinion, that Tanjore ought to be taken, openly and avowedly, under the Company's protection; or that the country should be conquered and wholly subdued by them.*

1772.
MADRAS.

These views of the Council reached the Court in the month of September. The Parliamentary inquiry, then in progress, into the Company's affairs, precluded the Directors from giving any definite instructions on the important advices received from India. They wrote, on the 11th December, 1772 :—" In our former letters of this season, you have been acquainted with the

Parliamentary
inquiry con-
templated.

* Letter, 28th February 1772.

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MADRAS.

the critical situation of the Company's affairs, and by our ship *Mercury*, we enclosed for your perusal the King's speech at the opening of the present session. In consequence thereof, Committees have been appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the Company's affairs, both at home and abroad. The measures which may be pursued, in consequence of their reports to the two Houses of Parliament, indispensably occasion such particular and constant attention on our part, as at present to deprive us of the opportunity of entering into a reply at large to your advices now before us, and, therefore, our remarks and directions thereon are necessarily suspended, until the departure of the latter ships of this season."

Succession to
Zemindaries.

Opparrow, who had held the zemindary of Nozeed jointly with his brother Narrain Row, having died without issue, the zemindary naturally devolved on the surviving brother. The Council, however, thought it necessary that all the Zemindars should clearly understand, the Company asserted the right of judging and determining the succession. The Resident was ordered to make inquiry, for form's sake; after which Narrain Row was put into possession.

Council resolve
on operations
against Poly-
gars.

The Council having determined, in communication with the Nabob, to commence operations for the purpose of reducing the Marawar and Nalcooty Polygars, a force of one hundred and twenty artillery, four hundred European infantry, three

three battalions of sepoys, and six battering cannon, to be augmented by some of the Nabob's cavalry, and two of his battalions of sepoys, marched from Trichinopoly, the 12th of May, accompanied by Omdut-ul-Omrah, who had been deputed by his father to superintend the expedition. He arrived before the capital of the Marawar Polygar, on the 28th May. The batteries opened against it on the morning of the 2d June, and the fort was taken by assault in the evening, the Marawar Polygar, his mother, and the Dewan, being captured in the place.

Trepanavam, one hundred and fifteen miles east of Madura, belonging to the Nalcooty Polygar, was taken by assault, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Bonjour, on the 24th of May. The Polygar was not reduced until the end of June, after which the troops were ordered to their respective stations.

The Rajah of Travancore declined compliance with the requisition of the Nabob of the Carnatic for aid in the operations against the refractory Polygars, on the ground that he was apprehensive Hyder would attack the Travancore country; Hyder being applied to, disavowed having even contemplated such a step. He declared that the Travancore country was in no shape dependent upon him, and that he had no demands whatever upon the Rajah. Since peace had been concluded between Hyder and the Mahrattas, the atten-

1772.
MADRAS.

Conduct of the
Rajah of Tra-
vancore.

1772.
MADRAS,

tion of the former had been directed to recruiting his army, and restoring the affairs of his own country. The Council remarked, “these measures were necessary, merely on a defensive plan; but mere defence and inactivity cannot long be expected from his genius.”

Sir Robert
Fletcher suc-
ceeds General
Smith in com-
mand of army.

Brigadier General Smith, having returned to the Presidency, resigned the command of the army in the month of August. The post devolved upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who, in accordance with the Court’s order of April 1771, was admitted to a seat in the Council and Select Committee, on the 24th of August.

Various differences as to military arrangements arose between Sir Robert Fletcher, the President, and a majority of the Council. They were carried on with so much personal feeling, as not only to impede the progress of public business, but to create apprehensions that serious results might be produced, unless decided measures were taken to put an end to the proceedings.

1773.
Differences be-
tween Council
and Sir Robert
Fletcher.

A question having arisen on the powers of the President, as commander of the garrison, in which the conduct of Sir Robert Fletcher formed matter of discussion, a decided majority of the Council were of opinion that he should withdraw. It was subsequently proposed, for the general welfare of the service, that Sir Robert Fletcher’s absence from Council was essential to the good conduct of the public business. A resolution was passed by a
majority

1773.
MADRAS.

majority of seven to two in the Council, on the 12th January, that he should be ordered to repair to Trichinopoly, to take the command of that fortress, where his services could be most usefully employed for the Company's interests. On the following day, Sir Robert Fletcher addressed the President, stating that, as he considered the proceeding contrary to the order and intentions of the Court, and equal to a dismissal of the service, he felt that the duty he owed to the public obliged him to make application for a passage and accommodation in the first ship for England, that he might be enabled to give his attendance in Parliament.*

On the 14th, Sir Robert Fletcher was desired to proceed to Trichinopoly, and informed that, on the same day, a Council would be summoned, when his letter would be considered. He replied by protesting, as a member of the government and of the legislature, against the conduct of the President, which he deemed contrary to law and to the privilege to which he was entitled. The Council

* However strange it may appear at the present day, that Members of the House of Commons should at any time have retained their seats, while serving in so distant a quarter of the globe as India, yet the instance in question, as well as that of Mr. Vansittart, in 1769 (*vide* note, page 191), are in point. The Act of the 10th Geo. IV., cap. 62, disqualifies persons holding the station of Governor or Deputy Governor in India, from a seat in Parliament.—Query, does it exclude *inferior* functionaries?

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Council informed him, that the proceeding was not intended as a dismissal, but an appointment to a station, where his services might be most usefully employed. They repeated and enforced the same, and informed him that, when he should have complied therewith, and “have given the whole military establishment that example of obedience and attention which we have a right to expect, we shall give all due consideration to whatever you may have to represent.” He reached Trichinopoly, and received charge of the fortress on the 26th January.

Sir Robert
Fletcher's plea
of privilege of
Parliament.

The Council met on the 29th, and came to a resolution, declaring that “out of unfeigned respect and veneration for the Honourable House of Commons and their privileges, Sir Robert Fletcher, in consequence of his plea of privilege as a member of parliament, is, for so much as depends on this Board, at full and free liberty to return to his duty in Parliament, whenever and by whatever conveyance he shall think proper; and that this Board do further declare Sir Robert Fletcher henceforth free and exonerated of and from all obligation to serve the Company in any capacity under this Presidency, that so there may not remain any restraint, or colour of restraint upon, or impediment to, his proceeding to his duty in Parliament, agreeable to his claim.”

Brigadier General Smith consented, at the earnest request of the Council, although on the

eve

eve of departure for England, to resume the command, and communicated the same to the Council, on the 29th January, in the following terms: "I assure you that no motive whatever could have induced me to enter into a public station again; but, being thus called upon by you, the duty I cheerfully acknowledge to my employers, and a very grateful sense of the advantages I have derived from their service, are obligations which outweigh with me every other consideration, and afford me this opportunity of once more shewing that attachment I have always professed for our honourable masters." General Smith's appointment being announced in orders, he took his seat as a member of the Council, on the 30th. Sir Robert Fletcher, having received a copy of the order on the 2d of February, wrote to the Council from Trichinopoly, that he had given over the command to the senior officer, and should proceed to the Presidency.

Mr. Du Pré resigned the government on the 31st January, and was succeeded by Mr. Wynch.

Sir Robert Fletcher was to proceed to England on board the *Triton*, with Capt. the Hon. Fullarton Elphinstone. Further correspondence ensued, in which Sir Robert Fletcher animadverted upon the state of the army. To which General Smith fully and satisfactorily replied. He then demanded copies of such allegations as might be sent home regarding him, or access to the records; intimating

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MADRAS.

Sir Robert
Fletcher pro-
ceeds to Eng-
land.

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intimating, that the Council would refuse the same at their peril. The Council did not see fit to comply with either of the requests, and he embarked in the *Triton*, which was despatched on the 15th March. The subject was brought under the consideration of the Court of Directors ; whose decision, at the same time that it condemned the conduct of Sir Robert Fletcher, regarding the authority of the Governor as commandant of the fort, restored him to the command of the army whenever Brigadier General Smith should resign.

The conduct of the Rajah of Tanjore led to the Council unanimously agreeing to meet the requisition of the Nabob of the Carnatic for troops, to enable him to subdue his tributary. The force assembled at Trichinopoly, under the command of General Smith. They arrived before the capital of Tanjore on the 6th of August. On the 20th, the army broke ground, and on the 17th of September the place was carried by assault, with an inconsiderable loss, the Rajah and his family being prisoners to the Nabob's two sons, who accompanied the expedition. At the commencement of these operations, intelligence was received by the Nabob, that the Dutch were aiding the Rajah with stores from Negapatam. He accordingly despatched a vakeel, with a remonstrance. To give weight to this proceeding, Sir Robert Harland ordered two ships of war to accompany the vakeel. The Dutch disavowed, in the most submissive manner,

manner, having rendered any aid to the Rajah of Tanjore. Suspicions still existed that such was not the fact; they were shortly confirmed by the Dutch possessing themselves of the sea-port of Nagore, and also of some valuable districts in the Tanjore country, on the plea that they had purchased them of the Rajah. As a tributary of the Nabob, he had no right to alienate these possessions; but it was not until the appearance of the Nabob's troops, under the command of his son, followed at some distance by General Smith, that the Dutch guards quitted Nagore and retired to Negapatam. Had the Council hesitated in aiding the Nabob to reduce Tanjore, and permitted the Rajah to introduce foreign troops into the centre of his country, and to make grants of districts and sea-ports to an European power, the results might have seriously affected the English interests on the coast.

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The position of Hyder and the Mahrattas, at the commencement of this year, threatened a descent on the Carnatic, and induced the Council, in conjunction with the Nabob, to take precautions for its defence. The jealousy of the Nabob, his vacillating conduct towards the native powers, the declared poverty of his treasury, his desire of acting independently of the Council, and his secret intrigues, rendered the task of guiding his affairs one of no easy accomplishment; still it was the determination of the Council to preserve, as far

1774.
State of the
Carnatic.

1774. far as possible, the tranquillity of the Carnatic, and to avoid anything tending to involve them in dissensions either with Hyder or the Mahrattas.

1771. The President of Bombay, Mr. Hodges, died at
BOMBAY. Victoria, on the 23d February, and was succeeded by Mr. Hornby.

Mahrattas de-
fent Hyder.

On the 7th March, the Mahrattas obtained a complete victory over Hyder, near Seringapatam, obliging him to retire within that fortress. He applied to the Council for aid, which they were utterly unable to afford him, either in men or money, but offered to supply him with five hundred muskets and four twenty-pound guns.

The Mahrattas, being in possession of the greater part of Mysore, prevented Hyder from raising troops, or drawing the necessary supplies for them. In the month of October, he addressed the President, representing that the enemy, notwithstanding his readiness to pay them their just *chout*, were determined to make a conquest of his dominions, and then to attack the Nabob of Arcot and the Carnatic; he, therefore, called upon the Council, in the name of the Company, who were equally interested with him in checking the progress of the Mahrattas, to join in measures for that object. The Council were disposed to consent, under all circumstances, provided Hyder assigned over the forts and districts of Mangalore and Pier Gur, and deposited five lacs of pagodas towards

towards the expenses, that he should be informed five hundred Europeans and one thousand two hundred sepoy would be sent to his assistance. An intimation of this intention was notified to the Council at Madras.

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Hyder applied for a specific force of one thousand Europeans, and four thousand sepoy, to be employed in making a diversion by an attack on Bassein and Salsette, and to march inland, in order to draw off the Mahrattas from his country. The Council felt no disposition to concur in this proposition, it being evidently the desire of Hyder to make them principals in the war. The receipt, at this moment, through the Council at Madras, of the Court's views,* determined them to close all further treaty. Hyder's fortune triumphed over his danger: he obtained a tolerable peace, without a friend or ally; but the coolness of the Madras Government alienated his feelings, and indisposed him towards the English power.

During the differences between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, Hyder had made the entire conquest of the dominions of the Zamorin and the King of Cotiote; he also preferred a complaint to the Resident at Tellicherry, that some of the principal people of Cotiote had been harboured in the Company's districts. The Prince of Cherika paid a visit to the Chief at Tellicherry, by whom

Conquests of
Hyder.

* *Vide* page 301.

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whom he was interrogated regarding his late correspondence with Hyder. He admitted, with evident confusion, that he had received several letters from the Nabob, the purport of which he did not before choose to disclose, but said that, on his return, he would send the originals for inspection. Instead of fulfilling his promise, he assembled two hundred natives, and immediately went over to the Cotiote country, and joined Hyder's camp, which was about twelve leagues from Tellicherry.

Sir Robert
Harland ar-
rives at Bom-
bay and asserts
his powers.

Sir Robert Harland having arrived at Bombay, produced his powers to the Council. They remarked, that he appeared to think he was authorized to enter into any treaty, and to make any terms on behalf of the Company, with any princes or powers in India that he might see fit. "Were such a power granted, it would be truly alarming; but, as we cannot believe any such power was intended by the Crown, or that we are empowered or authorized to submit our demand on the Mahrattas, or any other power, we declined to do so, until we should hear from you on the subject."

1772.

The Nabob of Broach had, at his own instance, in the month of July 1771, repaired to Bombay, and entered into a treaty with the Company, on the 30th November, by which they were permitted to erect a factory there. The Nabob was not to assist the enemies of the English, but to aid the Company ;

Company; nor was he to engage in war without their consent; but in hostilities begun in communication with the Council, they were to aid him, on his paying a certain stipulated rate for each man, and four lacs in full for all demands on the part of the Company. A firm friendship was to subsist between the Councils of Surat and Bombay. The Nabob having, under various pretences, evaded from time to time the performance of any of the articles of the treaty, the Council recalled Mr. Morley, their Resident at Broach. At the earnest entreaty of the Nabob, he was sent back; but his reception, added to the continued extraordinary conduct of the Nabob, in refusing to observe the treaty, led the majority of the Council to concur in sending an expedition to enforce the observance of its provisions. The troops and vessels left Bombay on the 2d November, under the command of Brigadier-General Wedderburn, and Mr Watson, the Superintendent of the Marine. The general, reconnoitering too near the works, was killed on the 14th. On the 16th, the batteries opened against it, and on the 18th, it was taken by storm. Five officers and one cadet were killed; two captains and four lieutenants wounded. The revenues were stated to amount to seven lacs; half of which was claimed by Futtý Sing Guicowar, with whom an agreement was entered into on the 12th January, by which it was declared that the town of Broach, lately

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Operations
against Broach.

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lately belonging to Mahazuz Cawn Nabob, having been conquered by the East-India Company, every thing should remain on the footing it was at the time of the conquest, the English and Futtu Sing each receiving a share of the revenues.*

Mr. Mostyn had been especially designated by the Court for the station of Resident at Poonah, in order to acquire, upon safe and honourable terms, such privileges and possessions as would not only be beneficial to the Company's commerce, but also contribute to the security of their settlements on the coast of Malabar.

The acquisition of Salsette, Bassein, and Caranja, were the principal objects contemplated by the Court, and strongly pressed upon the attention of the Council,† who, in negotiation with Mhaderao, were authorized to offer in exchange what they might deem an equivalent for such a cession. The Council, in the month of February, advised the Court that there was little prospect, at that period, of the object being accomplished.

Transactions at
Poonah.

Mhaderao died in November 1772, and was succeeded by his brother, Narrain Rao. Janojee, the Mahratta chieftain in Berar, died about the same time. Narrain Rao was murdered in his palace at Poonah, on the 20th August, in the following year, by the partizans of his uncle, Ragobah,

* *Vide* Printed Treaties.

† *Vide* page 210.

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gobah,* who was immediately proclaimed throughout the city, and succeeded with little opposition. Ragobah proceeded forthwith to Sattarah, for the purpose of receiving the *surpaw†* from the Rajah. Moodajee Bhonslah was the party whose influence he had most to apprehend. Ragobah had written to him to attend with five thousand men : notwithstanding this requisition, he proceeded with his troops towards Poonah, and was joined by some other chiefs, who enabled him to assemble a force of nearly 80,000 men. This movement created great suspicion on the part of Ragobah, whose force amounted only to about 60,000, and the fidelity of these was doubtful. He was, however, ultimately joined by Moodajee. The united force proceeded against the Nizam, who had taken the field with a considerable army. An engagement ensued, in which the Nizam had the advantage ; but a treaty followed, to the benefit of Ragobah, who then meditated an attack on the Carnatic, in order to induce the Nabob to pay him a large amount of *chout*, and likewise to explain his conduct in having made war against the Rajah of Tanjore. Ragobah was deterred from carrying his intentions into execution, by the proceedings of the ministerial party at Poonah, who were dissatisfied with his government, and the means by which

* Properly Ragonant Rao, but commonly called and known as Rogobah, which designation is used.

† *Vide* page 8.

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which he had obtained it. They availed themselves of his distance to declare in favour of the widow of Narrain Rao. These measures obliged him to retrace his steps, from the confines of the Carnatic to the heart of his own government. The two parties met—Ragobah gained a decisive victory over the forces of the ministry ; their general was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds. Notwithstanding Ragobah's success, his position was very precarious ; having little money, entertaining doubts as to the fidelity of his troops, and being constrained to levy contributions, in his marches through the country, in order to support his army, while the remains of the ministerial force was recruited from that of Moodajee, who had likewise joined the Nizam.

At this juncture, the country round Broach was thrown into a state of disorder, by Ragobah having supported Govind Rao, in opposition to Futtu Sing, who had for some time been at the head of the Guicowar government ; but being defeated in an engagement with his brother, he was dispossessed of all the country except Baroda, the capital, the open country remaining under Govind Rao.

The determination of the Government of Bombay to support Ragobah, involved the Company in hostilities with the Mahrattas. The opposition which he met with in his efforts to re-establish his power

power at Poonah, led to his making proposals to the Council at Bombay for the assistance of a body of the Company's troops. His terms fell short of those required by the Council, which included a cession of Salsette and Bassein ; Rago-
bah being averse to parting with either of those possessions.

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CHAPTER VII.

1772.
Attention of
Parliament
directed to the
Company.

HAD the members of the Special Commission, nominated in 1769 * for the purpose of supervising the whole of the Company's affairs, reached India, they would have operated as a check on the extensive powers of control and interference assumed by the naval officers of the crown towards the several governments. The effects caused by their proceeding rendered the necessity still more apparent for introducing a revised system of administration, as regarded both the Home and Foreign affairs. Enactments had been passed to regulate the declaration of a dividend, and the exercise of the ballot by the proprietors : a lengthened and rigid scrutiny had been substituted into the general state of the Company, and doubts had been raised on the question of right in the territorial possessions ; but the Company were still unfettered in the exercise of all powers of government, and were at full liberty to follow their own views, whether relating to the dismemberment of a kingdom, the deposition of a sovereign, or the provision

* *Vide* page 272.

sion of an investment. But although possessing this power, they had no means of effectually enforcing obedience to their orders, on the part of their servants, who were represented “to have made enormous fortunes at the expense of their masters, and to have hazarded by their conduct the total loss of their valuable possessions.” 1772.

From the period of hostilities commencing with the French, followed by those with the native powers, the greatest embarrassment was occasioned by each of the three presidencies acting independently of the other. There was no defined superior authority to direct affairs, or to ensure unity of object, or co-operation in action.

This state of things led to the following passage in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the session in January 1772. “The concerns of this country are so various and extensive as to require the most vigilant and active attention; and some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuse, and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the Legislature for their protection may become necessary.”

The financial means of the Company had been materially affected by the measures of their servants. The subsequent operation against the Mogul and the Vizier—the war in the Carnatic, during which Hyder committed such extensive ravages—the reduction of the refractory Polygars,

Financial embarrassments of the Company.

1772,

and the incursions of the enemy on the coast of Malabar, not only absorbed the revenues, but caused a suspension of the investment upon the out-turn, on which the Directors relied to meet the heavy demand that pressed upon them, in the large amount of bills drawn from India, in addition to the charge occasioned by the necessary supply of troops and stores for service. Their only resource for relief was an application to the minister. Little encouragement was, however, held out of pecuniary aid from that quarter.

Attacks on the
Company and
on Lord Clive.

Disappointment had been created on the part of the public by the non-payment of the £400,000, under the agreement of 1769.* The affairs of the Company had become the general subject of discussion and animadversion. Pamphlets issued from the press, reflecting in strong terms of severity on the Company, and on the conduct of their servants. Virulent attacks were levelled against the character of Lord Clive, whose administration of the government of Bengal, in 1765, had unjustly caused him many enemies. The circumstances under which his lordship had entered upon that arduous trust were forgotten, whilst the most distorted views were given of his measures. Lord Clive was not a recognized servant of the state: he derived no authority from law: he was placed over a presidency, divided, head-strong, and licentious—the Treasury was without

